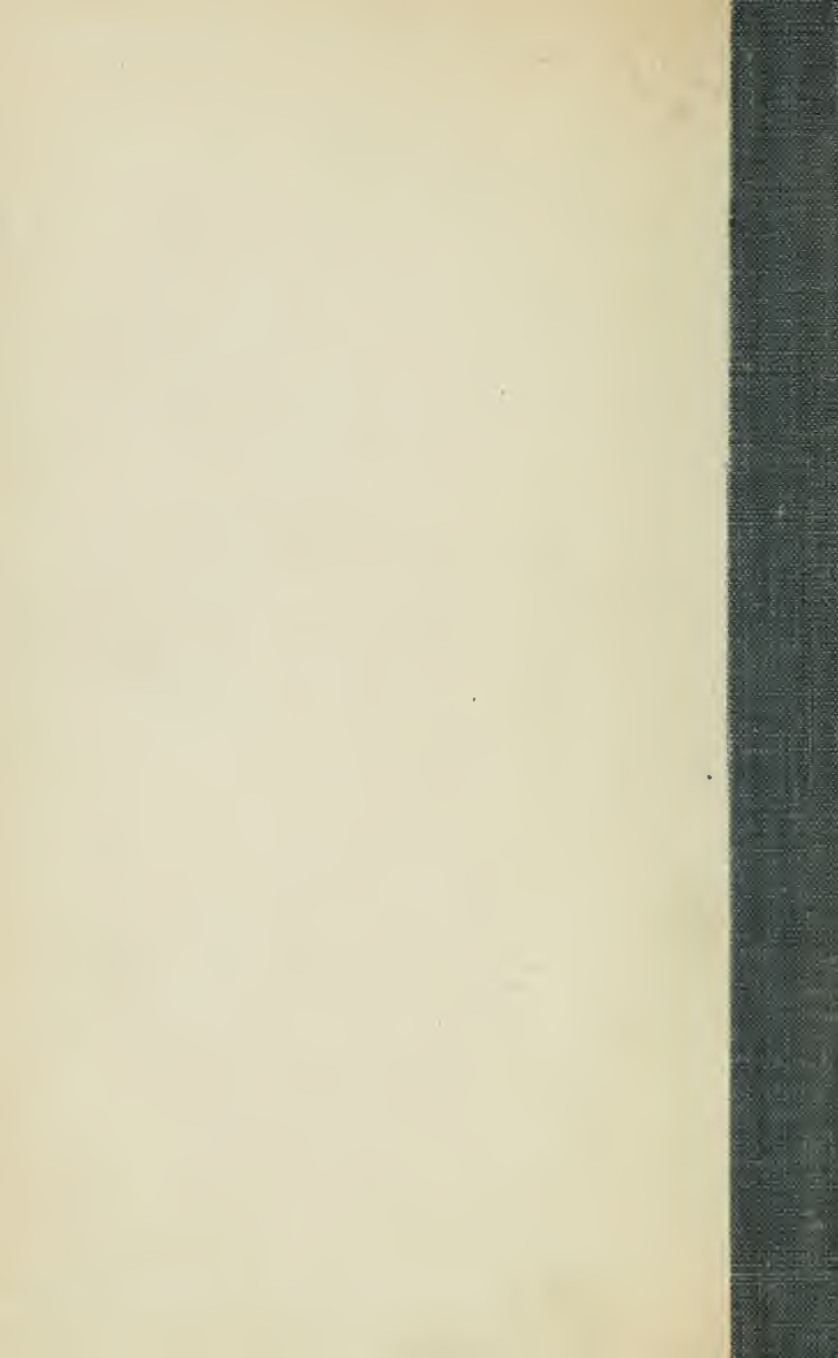


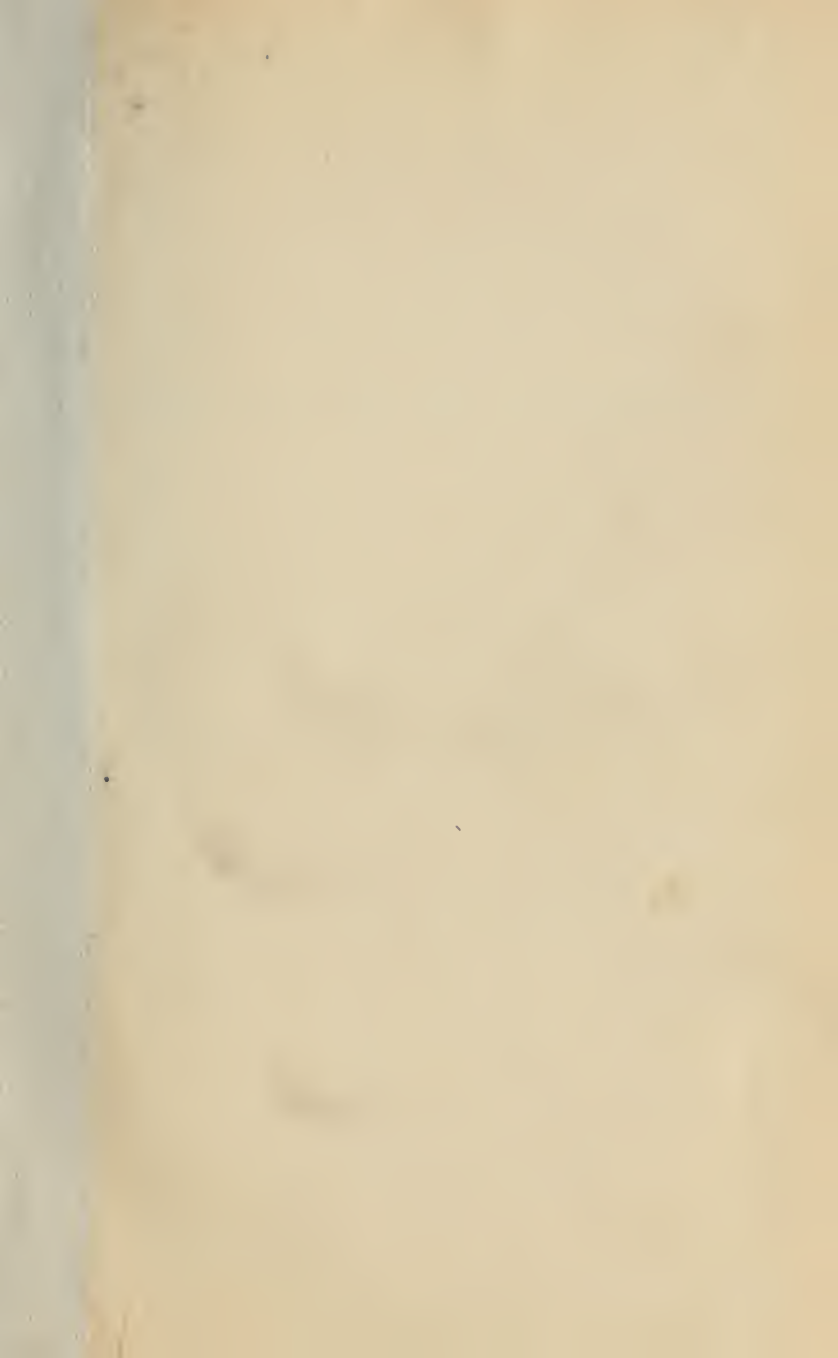
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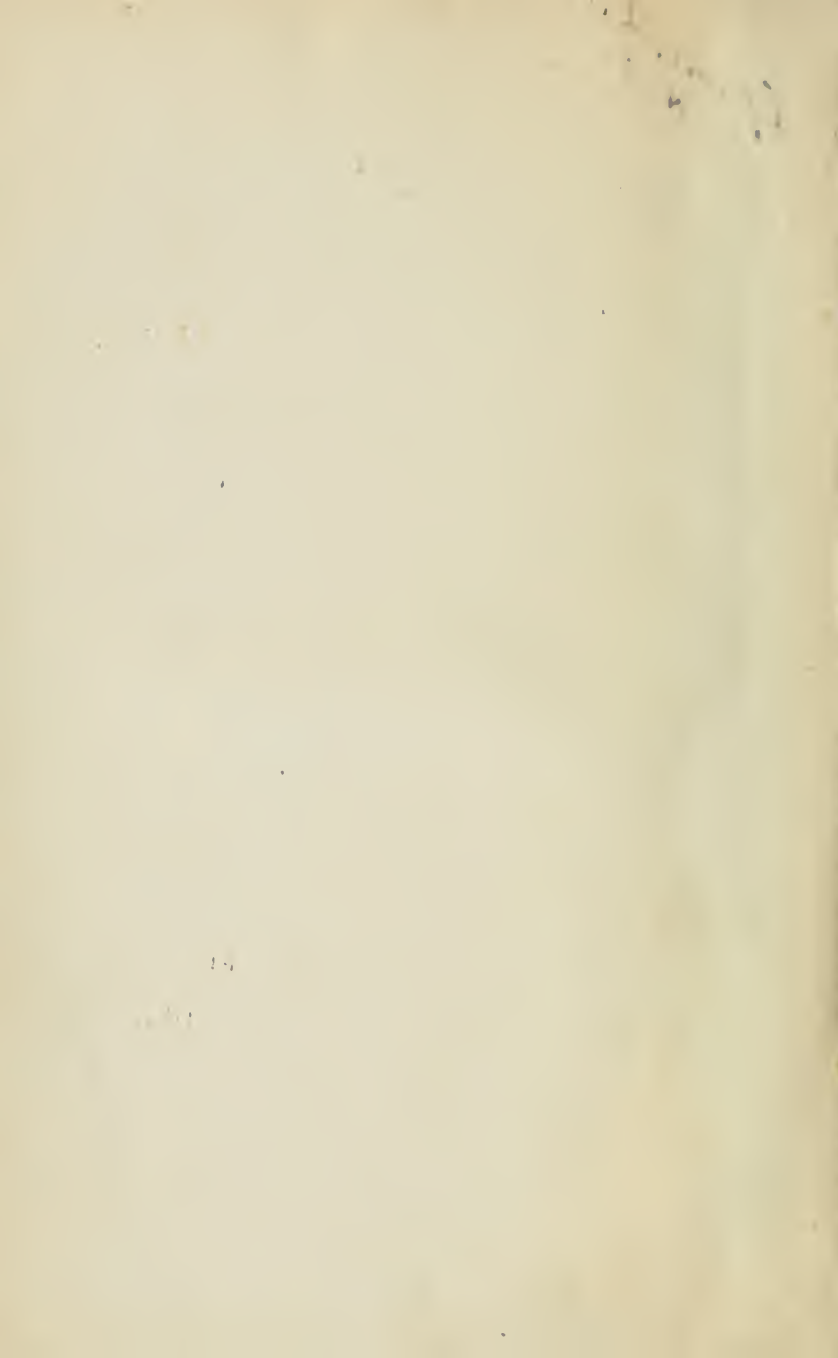


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A CRITICAL OUTLINE

OF THE

LITERATURE OF GERMANY.

BY

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FIFTH EDITION, MUCH ENLARGED.

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.




THE object of this little volume is to supply Students with a concise and accurate Manual of the History of German Literature, from its earliest beginning up to the present day. The work has not been overburdened with accounts of unimportant writers, or lengthy quotations from the German. English versions have been consistently avoided, the Author feeling convinced that their insertion in a work of this kind is out of place.

All the data requisite for the full treatment of the Literature up to 1896 have been supplied.

A. M. S.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

September, 1896.



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GERMAN LITERATURE.



CHAPTER I.

ON THE GERMAN LANGUAGE: ITS HISTORY AND CHARACTER.

The German Language — why called Hoch-Deutsch.—The present dialect of Germany, or the Modern High-German, owes its name of Hoch-Deutsch to the circumstance of its having arisen in the higher, *i. e.* in the mountainous or southern portions of that country. A glance at the map of Europe will show that the tracts adjoining the North Sea and the Baltic are level, up to at least two or three hundred miles from the mouths of the Rhine, Weser, Elbe, Oder, and Vistula; while in the region of Bonn, Kassel, Halberstadt, and Wittenberg, the country becomes more and more hilly, until it culminates in the lofty scenery of the Alps. Hence a very marked difference between the tribes as well as the dialects of Germany has been observable ever since the time of the great migration. In the Northern Lowlands a variety of languages, such as Dutch or Netherlandish, Flemish, Frisian, Westphalian, Mecklenburghish, Anglo-Saxon, and others, all denominated by the general term of Low-German dialects or Platt-Deutsch, used to be employed, and some of them are still in use there; while in Upper Germany, or south and east of the tribes aforesaid, another dialect called Hoch-Deutsch has always been spoken: both again differ from the Scandinavian, which

is the third great subdivision of Teutonic, and spoken in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. In the course of the Middle Ages Low-German was gradually eclipsed, and finally superseded by the southern dialect. That species of Hoch- or Ober-Deutsch, which established itself as the national tongue of all Germany, was originally the language of the Swabians; but kindred forms of speech existed also in Bavaria and Austria, in Alsatia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Switzerland. When Pomerania, with East and West Prussia, was colonized from Thuringia by the German knights, these Baltic provinces also adopted a Highland dialect as the idiom of their inhabitants, and thus the Low-German, being shut out from the Oder and Vistula, and all the upper regions of the country, retained for itself only the mouths and lower courses of the Rhine, Ems, Weser, and Elbe, as its peculiar domain.

History of the Low-German Dialects.—Although restricted within these narrow limits, the Low-German tribes strictly maintained the peculiarities of their national tongue. When in the fifth and sixth centuries the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes migrated to England, they carried their language with them, to be there afterwards mixed with Scandinavian and Norman French. In the time of Charlemagne, a Low-German chieftain, Wittekind, a native of Westphalia, defended his independence with obstinacy against the superior power of the Franks. These Franks and their Carlovingian sovereigns spoke a High-German dialect as a rule. After the disruption of Charlemagne's empire, the Lowland Saxons became for a time the leading tribe of Germany. Their prince, Henry the Fowler, founded in 919 A.D. the first dynasty of Teutonic emperors, and his lineal descendants continued to fill the throne for more than a century. We have every reason to suppose that, so far at least, the

Low-German dialect was in no respect inferior to the High-German, though it did not enjoy either the protection of the Saxon sovereigns, or that of the clergy. At all events, it was not interfered with on the territory where it was domiciled. But a gradual change in the relations of the two languages took place after the year 1024, or at the end of the Saxon line of emperors. For at that time the imperial dignity and the chief government of the country passed out of the hands of the Low-Germans into those of their southern neighbours. First the Franconians supplied Germany with feudal chieftains; and when these emperors had reigned for a century, the leadership went still more southward, to the Swabians. It was to be expected that the princes of both these tribes, or the Salian and the Hohenstaufen emperors, would favour the High-German nationality, which they represented, and thus it cannot surprise us to find that from that epoch the Lowland dialect sank in importance, and that, as a literary (or written) language, it succumbed to its rival. Perhaps the loss of political prestige alone would not have been powerful enough to throw the Low-Germans and their language into the background, had not other causes supervened. But in addition to their greater political influence and their superiority in point of numbers, the High-Germans also possessed greater capacity for intellectual development. The Hohenstaufen emperors became the declared patrons of German poetry; and the knightly minstrels, who repaired to their court, were induced to compose verses in High-German, even if it did not happen to be their native idiom. Thus before long the Low-German dialect sank down to the level of a patois, and soon it received that stigma of vulgarity or rusticity which now is attached to it in the eyes of the present inhabitants of Germany. For presently we shall see that the Reformation only tended to establish still more firmly the exclusive recep-

tion of the rival and more favoured language. The only Low-German dialect which successfully withstood the encroachments of the Highland tongue was the Dutch, which is the national form of speech in Holland. All the others have long since ceased to exist as printed or written languages; and, except about two millions of country people in the North-west of Germany, they are only known to the comparative philologist or to the Teutonic antiquary.

Remains of Low-German Literature. — From what has been said it will appear that the remains of Low-German literature can only be few, and that, apart from works in Dutch, which we exclude from the range of consideration, none can be later than the age of the Reformation, except those which owe their origin to the artificial revival of Low-German fiction and poetry, which has recently taken place. In all the oldest prose and poetry there are numerous traces of Low-German words: among the rest, *Hildebrandslied*. *Beowulf* is an Anglo-Saxon poem, composed in the North of Germany about 800 A.D. More important is *Heliand*, the Old-Saxon account of the life of the Saviour, written about 840. Three hundred years later one of the earliest *Minnesänger*, H. von Veldeke, born on the Lower Rhine, set aside his Low-German dialect, as the vehicle of minstrelsy, for the more fashionable court-dialect of the Swabian princes who then reigned in Germany, and thereby set the example of giving this High-German (Swabian) court-dialect an undisputed predominance over all others. Notwithstanding this important confession of its inferiority, Low-German still continued to be written. The fable of *Reineke*, the Fox, was composed in the popular dialect of the North, about 1250, after a Dutch-model; and the same experiment was repeated in 1498 at Lübeck, by Herman Barkhusen. Lastly, Gerhard of Minden in Westphalia paraphrased in 1350 *Aesop*, or 103

fables attributed to Aesop, in the Low-German dialect. These are nearly all that remain of the old Low-German writings. Since, however, a nearly extinct dialect still excites a certain degree of interest, more especially in friends of folklore, and admirers of popular styles of literature, Low-German verses and stories have sometimes been composed in modern times as a kind of literary curiosity. Thus Simon Dach, of Königsberg, a Protestant hymn-writer, composed some moral and religious poems about 1640, which adopted the tone and language of the rural population in Prussia, and were, therefore, in part written in Low-German. The same experiment was tried by Voss, the great translator of Homer, and member of the Göttingen Dichterbund. He has left two idyllic poems, which are as rustic in their dialect as in their contents. Between 1812 and 1815 the brothers Grimm published a few short specimens of Low-German tales. The learned authors had visited the cottages of the Westphalian peasantry, and listened to the recitations of the Märchenfrauen, or story-tellers, and the result of these investigations they inserted in their (otherwise High-German) collection of "Kinder- und Haus-Märchen." The most recent instances of Low-German publications are the humorous stories of Fritz Reuter, which are written in the Mecklenburg dialect, and the poems of Klaus Groth, which employ the kindred patois of Holstein. Neither of these can, as a rule, be understood by educated Germans, except with the aid of a Low-German dictionary.

Dialectic Differences of High-German and Low-German.—Let us briefly point out some of the more prominent differences existing between the two sister dialects. It will easily be observed that these differences are but trifling, and essentially differences of pronunciation. The separation of the two dialects is generally supposed

to have begun in the sixth, and to have been completed before the end of the eighth century. The Lowlanders, being more of a sea-coast and sea-faring race than their southern compatriots, and coming oftener into contact with the Scandinavians, retained the shorter vowels, and the objection to sibilants (*tz*) and gutturals, which had been common to them with the Norse tribes; and generally they adhered to a different, and older, method of putting the nine mute consonants. The High-Germans, on the other hand, employed longer, darker, and broader vowels; they had numerous sibilants and gutturals, and introduced a new law of putting the just-mentioned nine consonants, viz. *b, d, g*,—(softs); *p, t, k*,—(sharps); *ph, th, ch*,—(gutturals). They put a sharp for the old soft; a guttural for a sharp, and, often also, though not so commonly, a soft for the older guttural, and finally a sibilant for an older *t*.

These differences of pronunciation have been the subject of much learned research. As regards the vowels, the Doric and Ionic dialects of ancient Greece offer a good parallel. Just as the sea-side Ionic dialect of Asia Minor and Attica pronounced $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, where the inland mountaineer dialect of the Dorians pronounced $\delta\tilde{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, so in Germany the Low-German said *hed, hedde, seggen*, where the High-German said *hat, hatte, sagen*. The High-German, at the same time, evinced a growing predilection for the long vowels *á, é, ó, ú*, and the long Umlaut-vowels *ä, ö, ü, äu*, which existed also in the Lowland dialects, but were shorter. The interesting principles of Lautverschiebung, or consonant-shifting, have been first clearly elucidated by J. Grimm. According to him the practice of putting sharps for softs, aspirates for sharps, and softs for aspirates, which was so extensively applied to German by the Highland tribes of the fifth century, was only a repetition of what had been done seven hundred years

before, by all Germans, on the formation of the Teutonic branch of the Aryan languages. The interchange of the nine consonants, in the sense just indicated, was in both cases essentially the same. As High-German put this law, called *Lautverschiebung*, into force twice, while Low-German, with Scandinavian and Gothic, had applied it but once, the effect is, that words of the same root and meaning occurring in Latin and Greek, as well as in the three older German dialects, appear in High-German with their consonants twice shifted, while in Low-German, Scandinavian, and Gothic, they have them shifted once. The truth of this observation becomes apparent on comparing, *e. g.* *tectum* with *thatch* and *Dach*; *cannabis* with *hemp* and *Hanf*; *jugum* with *yoke* and *Joch*; and *ducere* with *to tug*, and *ziehen*. The High-Germans were unable to pronounce the aspirate *th*, and, therefore, either left it *t*, or, more commonly, put a *tz*, *z*, or *s*. This is partly the reason of the existence of so many sibilants in High-German. The prefix *ge* in the participle past of High-German verbs, one of the most palpable flexional differences between it and Low-German, only became the rule in German in the fourteenth century.

History and Stages of the High-German Language.—Hoch-Deutsch, or the present national language of Germany, anciently had to contend not only with Low-German, but also with a number of other more ancient dialects, all of which it has survived. The old Teutons once lived more to the east of Europe, and were divided into a large number of tribes which occupied portions of the wide tract of country between the Lower Danube and the Baltic. They gradually moved thence to the north of Europe and in the direction of the Rhine. On coming into contact with the Celtic race they received the name of Germans, which also became their name in Latin. Among themselves they never employed any other collective name

but that of Deutsche. This word comes from the Gothic noun *thioda* (people), and signifies "popular, or common to all the race"; it was given to all those understanding the German language, and probably once was applied to the kindred Scandinavians as well, though after 843 it was limited to the inhabitants of Germany proper. In an age very remote their ancestors, as well as those of most other Europeans, may have inhabited the mountains of Persia or Iran, from which, according to this supposition, all the Aryan or Indo-European nations at one time or another descended. This is the theory of Grimm and Bopp, the most distinguished advocate of which in this country has been Professor Max Müller. Just on the threshold of German literature there is an unmistakable vestige of the connexion between Old Indian and the oldest German. The surprising similarity of these two forms of speech was first revealed by a newly-discovered book, the oldest specimen of German which is in existence. This is the translation of the Bible by Bishop Ulfilas, a Thracian or Visigothic prelate of the fourth century. His dialect, called the Mæso-Gothic, employs a vocabulary resembling that of Sanskrit to an almost incredible degree. The same resemblance exists in the grammar. The Gothic of Ulfilas is remarkable for the lengthened endings of its nouns, many of which end in *ubni*, a termination much akin to endings of Sanskrit nouns. Ulfilas has a separate form for the Dual of substantives. He also forms some tenses of the Passive voice without any auxiliary verb, just as in Greek. His adverbs end in *ba*; the consonants are frequently compounded into forms such as *Dd*, *Gm*, *Zn*, *Zv*, *Zg*. After the period of Ulfilas there comes a blank in the history of the German language, until in the ninth and three following centuries we find the two principal dialects, High- and Low-German, fairly settled side by side, and struggling for the supremacy. The native soil of Hoch-

Deutsch was Franconia and Swabia, where Otfried and Notker, two monks, first employed it as a written and literary language. This stage of High-German is called *Alt-Hoch-Deutsch*. Besides other old peculiarities, it still had short radical vowels in many of the accented syllables, and an *a*, *o*, *u*, *i* or *ē* in the unaccented portion of the words—contrary to the present law of German, by which every accented or radical syllable must be long, and every unaccented or terminational syllable must contain a short *e*. Thus the Old-High-German form of Vater was *fātar*; that of *gēbe* was *gību*; the dat. pl. of *Fisch* was *viscum*; the neuter of *blind* was *blindaz*; the dat. plural of *blind* was *blindôno*, and infinitives, such as *sagen*, *geben*, were pronounced *sāgan*, *giban*. The next stage of the language begins about 1150, or with the second crusade, and ends with the Reformation. This period is called *Mittel-Hoch-Deutsch*. It substituted the short *e* for *a*, *o*, *u*, *i*, *é* in all terminations, and thereby advanced one step nearer to the present German; *sāgen*, *blindes*, *fischen* for *sāgan*, *blindas*, *viscum*. One of its dialects, viz. the Swabian, became the favourite language of minstrelsy, principally owing to the influence of the Hohenstaufen (or Ghibellin) dynasty. Prose was not written at all; but the study of Canon Law and Divinity began already to bring into the language a number of Latin and Greek words, more especially those which refer to ecclesiastic or political matters as well as to philosophic subjects. Terms of chivalry and dress were also occasionally borrowed from the French. In the main, however, the changes of the High-German tongue during the Middle Ages are attributable rather to the incessant wear and tear which go on in every language and in every age, than to any extensive importation of foreign words. The want of regularity, and a corresponding tendency to decomposition, were moreover increased by the circumstance that so many sub-dialects of High-German existed

all over the country. There were not two districts of more than fifty square miles which spoke exactly alike. Of the ten circles into which the emperor Maximilian divided Germany, the three northern spoke either wholly, or in part, a species of Low-German; the Burgundian circle spoke Dutch; and the Lower Saxon and Westphalian spoke each their own Platt-Deutsch. But in the seven other circles as many subdivisions of High-German were employed. Thus we get Bavarian and Swabian Hoch-Deutsch in the south; a Palatinate, a Rhenish, and a Franconian dialect in the middle; and Austrian with Upper Saxon High-German in the east of Germany. These motley provincialisms might have gone on developing themselves for ever; they might have settled down into seven High and three Low dialects, just as it happened with one, viz. the Dutch; in a word, there might have been a total end to the unity of speech in Deutschland, had not the new era of the Reformation put a stop to this state of things, and by its consequences raised a new dialect, based upon that last mentioned, to such a decided pre-eminence over all the others, as to procure for it alone an exclusive recognition as the standard language of the country.

Guttenberg, the inventor of the art of printing, and Luther, the champion of the Reformation, by their labours brought about this salutary change. They, and especially the latter, have finally decided the uniformity of speech for all the inhabitants of Germany. Guttenberg, by discovering type, provided the mechanical means for fixing the spoken word in such a shape that it could reach the eyes and ears of millions, and could spread in printed books far beyond the limits of a single province. Luther, by preaching the Reformed faith, supplied the stimulus for using the discovery of Guttenberg. He first taught his countrymen to read no other sort of German but that which he wrote himself. The great Reformer lived in Upper

Saxony, and employed that species of High-German which was in use at Meissen, Wittenberg, and Eisenach. He did not, however, in composition adhere to the provincial idiom which he heard spoken around him, and which he spoke himself, but accommodated himself in the whole of his orthography, and in part also of his phraseology, to the official *Kanzlei-Sprache*, or *Schrift-Sprache*, which had been laid down by the central government of Vienna for the imperial edicts and rescripts, promulgated throughout the country. As this official German was understood at all the minor German courts, and as the discussions of the diets were conducted in that dialect, it possessed a sort of public prestige, and Luther, wisely, brought his diction into harmony with it, as far as circumstances permitted. Notwithstanding the non-Saxon origin of this artificial superstructure of his language, the substance of his speech must have come to Luther from his immediate countrymen, and in this sense we may still assert that the Upper Saxon dialect triumphed over all the others. For such was his personal influence, such the popularity of his pamphlets and the celebrity of his sermons and translation of the Bible, that not only his own followers, but also his Catholic adversaries, began to adopt Luther's diction, and to abide by his spelling, grammar, and word-forms. Nor since his days has any material departure from his dialect been essayed, or even imagined possible.

Thus, in the year 1534, when Luther published his complete translation of the Bible, the modern Hoch-Deutsch was fixed for all subsequent ages. Its chief difference from Middle High-German consists in the total abandonment of short radical vowels. Every accented syllable since Luther's time is *eo ipso* long, and every root-syllable is accented; so that quantity, root, and accent are always combined. Thus *sāgen*, *lēben*, *gēben* is now

said for *sāgan* or *sāgen*, for *gīban* or *gīben*, for *lēban* or *lēben*. To give additional length to the radical syllables, the vowels *ó*, *á*, and *é* were in Modern High-German either doubled, or provided with an additional *h*, called *Dehnungszeichen*; the diphthong *uo* was replaced by the long *u* (*gut* for *guot*); the long *i* became *ei* (*Leib* for *līp*; *Weib* for *wīp*); and the long *u* became *au* (*tausend* for the older *tūsent*). The auxiliary *werden*, and the participial prefix *ge*, had been gradually introduced. These are the principal changes from Middle High-German to New High-German. The additions since made to the German vocabulary did not increase the stock of household words, but only supplied appellatives for technical and artificial objects and occupations. The largest portion of these came from France. They were imported during the seventeenth century, when the influence of French manners and the French language reached a most extraordinary height at several German courts. Among others, all the verbs in *-ieren*; the adjectives in *-abel*, *-ös*, *-ant*; and the nouns in *-age*, *-eur*, *-trice*, and *-erie*, are importations from the French. The terms of *étiquette*, cookery, dress, heraldry, dancing, and some in military art, are usually of this class. The Italian language furnished its quota of musical terms, as well as most phrases referring to the business of banking. England lent to Germany her political and naval expressions: the latter of these had originally been derived by the English from the Dutch, so that the nautical dictionary of Germany presents the singular phenomenon of indigenous words with a foreign pronunciation.*

General Character of the High-German Language.—Taking now the result of the process of formation we have just described, and comparing German with other

Compare, *e. g.* the German *Scheener* with *schön*; *Seeseite* with *lau* = calm; *Nacht* with *Nachtschiff*; *Leifegel* with *Leif*; *steppen* with *stiefen*. Germans also speak of *Starbort* (*Steuer*), *Jolle*, *Beje*, *Tafelwerk*, &c.

European tongues, we cannot but perceive its peculiar advantages, as well as its peculiar defects. On the score of euphony, German must yield the palm to other languages. It is not a melodious language, nor such as would please an ear accustomed to Italian. Its vowels indeed are long and musical enough—far broader at least than English vowels. But its consonantal system is rather harsh, and the frequency of hissing sibilants and compound or uncompounded gutturals tries both throat and tongue very considerably. But the vocabulary is at once more original and more copious than that of other languages. It includes, after all, but little that is not strictly Teutonic; and the native stamp of German speech is as undeniable as the profuse wealth of verbal roots, and the numerous inflections which German commands. Perhaps no other language, except ancient Greek, ever possessed such facilities for inverting sentences, for deriving new expressions from old ones, and for compounding words and clauses with others. But this superabundant pliancy, while it enables German authors to be forcible and subtle in their diction, also betrays them frequently into excess of colouring, and from this cause springs the majority of the defects of German style. The length of the compound words renders them unharmonious, if not unpronounceable. The expansion of the sentence, though intended to improve the argument, in reality confuses and hampers it. The inversion of the natural order of words, however expressive at times, often tends to render the meaning obscure; and the vast number of purely Teutonic words in the dictionary makes the language all the harder for a foreigner to acquire. Thus the very advantages which German boasts of become a source of weakness—not indeed of necessity, because there is no intrinsic impediment to prevent German from being as concise and readable as any other language—but as a matter of

experience, and in consequence of the enormous architectural capacity of the language. Schiller and Heine, to mention no more, have for instance avoided this danger of excessive intricacy, to which Hoch-Deutsch naturally tends, and have given ample proof that it can be written with simplicity and elegance. But there are also many other authors in Germany whose books cannot be literally translated into any foreign language, so ramified is the formation of their sentences, and so artificial the composition of their words. It would be a serious mistake, if on that account we were to form a low estimate of their merits as sources of information. However desirable perspicuity may be, the most transparent rivers are also the most shallow, and the most lucid writers are sometimes the most common-place and the first laid aside.

We shall fitly conclude this chapter on the history of the German language by subjoining a table, showing the stages through which it has run, and its affinity with other forms of speech of the same family in Europe.

A. SEMI-TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

- I. Romance, or mixtures of Latin and Teutonic—(a) Italian; (b) French; (c) Spanish; (d) Portuguese; (e) Rouman, or Moldo-Wallachian.
- II. English, or a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman French.

B. TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

- I. Gothic, of Uifilas (350).
- II. Scandinavian:—Old Norse; Icelandic; Norwegian; Swedish; Danish.
- III. Low-German:—Anglo-Saxon; Frisian; Old Saxon, now called Platt-Deutsch; Dutch; Flemish; Westphalian; Mecklenburghish; Pomeranian.
- IV. High-German:—Franconian; Allemannic; Swabian; Bavarian; Swiss; Tyrolese; Upper Saxon.
 Alt-Hoch-Deutsch (800–1150);
 Mittel-Hoch-Deutsch (1150–1534);
 Neu-Hoch-Deutsch (1534 to the present time).

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PERIODS AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
GERMAN LITERATURE.**Zenith of Literary Excellence, about 1800 A.D.**

—One of the things that will be observed by the student of German literature is the very recent date at which it flourished, as compared with that of other European nations. It is not more than a hundred years since Germans could first boast of any great poets or prose writers, while in France literature had already reached its climax at least two centuries before the present age, in England nearly three, and in Spain and Italy at a still earlier period. The High-German race took its place in the literary world after the Western or Romance nations in point of time; and the poetic impulse, which first originated in Greece, and thence came to Italy, had previously gone the whole round of Europe before it stirred up the Teutonic nation, and roused it likewise to song and inspired thought. The year 1800 A.D. may be looked upon as the culminating point of literary excellence in Germany. The lateness of this date may seem surprising; nor can we say what exactly may have been the cause which delayed the dawn of poetic genius in that country. The most probable solution of the question seems to be, that religion had absorbed the whole attention of the Germans, and that the disastrous contests subsequent to the Reformation blighted the spring-time of their intellectual fertility, just at the moment when the national language had been fixed, and nothing but peace and prosperity seemed wanting to bring the bud to maturity. Be that as it may, there is a space of fully 230 years between Luther and Lessing, who commences the

classical era, so that the great national authors of Germany coincide only with the end of the last century: unless, indeed, we should claim for the mediæval bards the title of national poets, which their now discarded dialect and their solely antiquarian importance forbids us to attribute to them.

By dividing the mediæval literature into two sections, coextensive with the two earlier stages of the language, and by allotting to modern literature three sections, one rather longer than the others, we get five periods, as specified below. Each period commences and ends with some great event in the history of Germany, except the classical era, which began amidst comparative peace, though it ended with the Revolution.

First Period—the monastic age, or the Old High-German literature, from 360 A.D. to 1150, or from Ulfilas to the Crusades. During this age we shall have to record the labours of several pious monks, such as Otfried and Notker, whose translations from the Bible, along with some alliterative popular legends, form the oldest relics of German.

Second Period—the chivalrous and artisan poetry, or the Minnesänger and the Meistersänger, embracing the Middle High-German literature, from the Crusades to the Reformation, or from 1150 to 1534. This is a very brilliant period, yielding in the splendour of its literary performances to none among the nations of that time. A magnificent epic or heroic poetry was accompanied and succeeded by happy lyrical effusions.

Third Period—the learned literature of the theologians and scholars, or the Modern High-German literature in its primary stage, from Luther to the dawn of the classical era, or from 1534 to 1760. During this period little good was written, except hymns and rules of poetry. It was *critical* for Germany in politics, and also in literature.

Fourth Period—the classical age of Modern High-German, beginning in 1760, and ending with the storms of the French Revolution, or the death of Schiller in 1805. Besides Schiller and Goethe, who died in 1832, but whose productiveness falls chiefly into this, not into the next period, many minor stars illumine the literary horizon; the German drama reaches its perfection; and Göttingen, Jena, and Weimar become in succession the rendezvous of the most eminent authors whom Germany has seen.

Fifth and last Period—from 1805 up to the present time, the polemical age, in which we see the recent writers of Germany divided into two large camps, struggling, the one for Progress in Church and State, the other for Conservatism. The Romantic School sets the fashion at first, but soon Heine and the poets of Young Germany drive them off the field. At the same time philosophy and history flourish, as well as novels, and every department of scientific writing.

General Characteristics of German Authors.—Before we commence the history of special periods, or detail the works of separate authors, it seems advisable to take a prospective view of German Literature in its totality. Without some such general observations, without a clue to the prevailing tendencies of German writers, it is greatly to be feared the student will not see his way through the mass of detail which must be gone through. Besides, the history of a nation's literature gains in interest and utility in proportion as it enables us to recognize the peculiar genius of that nation, as revealed in its literary treasures. It is this alone which imparts value and significance to their analysis, which otherwise would be a dead letter, or a dry list of names. It is purposed, therefore, briefly to point out the most striking characteristics of German writers; and, as contrast

heightens the vividness of description, it has been thought advisable to compare their manner and taste with those of French and English authors.

Contrast with French Authors.—In the literature of France the conventional sentiment, or the regard for social propriety, acts as the criterion of good taste, and forms also the most remarkable merit and demerit of poetic and prose compositions. This truth has often been averred by French writers,* and is in fact the direct consequence of the peculiarly sociable and lively character of the French as a nation. Men always write as they think, and we must expect to discover visible marks of national character in the literature of any people. Thus, as the French possess great talent for conversation, a due appreciation of good manners, much anxiety to please and shine, and withal more brilliancy than substance, more versatility than gravity, so also the tenor and style of French compositions are similarly affected. The language is easy and declamatory, as the verse is always light and flowing. There is never any obscurity in the style, but occasionally we meet some rhetoric and surprising, or effective turns, which charm rather than convince. The kind of composition most in use is another, and a very decisive, test of the national genius. Of all the branches of poetry which have been cultivated in France none has found more distinguished votaries than comedy, or the representation of manners. Who does not remember *Tartuffe* and *Harpagon*, *Monsieur Jourdain* and *Alceste*? Their

* Thus Sainte Beuve says in his *Critiques et Portraits*, § 2—“La préférence de la littérature française consiste dans l'esprit de conversation et de société, l'entente du monde et des hommes, l'intelligence vive et délicate des convenances et des ridicules, l'ingénieuse délicatesse des sentiments, la grâce, le piquant, la politesse achevée du langage.” Similarly M^{me} de Stael in *De l'Allemagne*, Partie 1. § xi.

names and characters will perhaps outlive all the literary performances of the countrymen of Molière. In the light, the gay, the frivolous, in the portraiture of the external aspects of society, no literature has been either so prolific or so felicitous. While the novels of Dumas, Balzac, or Zola, fill the shelves of lending libraries, the vaudevilles of Scribe find their way, in one shape or another, into all the theatres of the world. The case is different with other branches of poetry. Thus, for instance, the tragedies of French authors have not been equally well received by non-Gallic audiences. Nor is this astonishing, because the tragic vein requires far other qualifications than the comic. The Rodrigues, Orestes, Tancredès of a Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, declaimed too much like French *galans*; they were always vindicating their *honour* or complimenting their *belle*. Besides the disregard of the conditions of historic truth, there was also a painful want of tragical sublimity—a want so serious, that no other quality can redeem it. The same absence [of deep poetic feeling has usually characterized the lyrical compositions of France. Voltaire has written some elegant light poetry; Béranger has produced some convivial songs; Lamartine and Victor Hugo have versified, the one many pious, the other many political meditations in elevated language; still we miss in their verse the genuine flame of poetic inspiration, the note of thrilling joy, and the cry of piercing sorrow. We read their volumes with pleasure; but we lay them aside unmoved, regretting, perhaps, that the “sentiments distingués,” which figure so often in letters, or in conversation, should be so little realized in the poetry of France. Contrasted, therefore, with such a literature as this, the poets and prose writers of Germany may seem inferior in elegance, in wit, in ease, in comic talent, in shrewd perception of social foibles,

and in their sense of conventional propriety; above all, they may be less accessible to a foreign student than the writers of France; and yet their merits will suffer nothing by the comparison. There are qualities of prose more vital than facility and legibility—namely, soundness of information and depth of research, just as there are beauties of poetry more delightful than varnish and wit—namely, imagination, pathos, and sublimity. It is in these latter qualities rather than in the former that the authors of Germany will be found to excel.

Contrast with English Writers.—The English mind is cast in a sterner mould than the French, and the contrast which it affords to the genius of Germany differs entirely from that which exists between the Germans and their neighbours beyond the Rhine. Both literatures, English and German, are rather of a sober and serious cast. There is in both the same absence of the light and frivolous, the same earnest looking into the future as well as into the past. Starting as both nations did, with considerable affinities in language and nationality, having since then added a like religious movement, it was but natural that in their literature also they should sometimes give utterance to similar sentiments. With all that, the contrast of English and German authors is such as cannot be overlooked. To begin with the former, the predominating feature of British literature is its much more practical and moralizing tendency. This character is generally acknowledged by the historians who have recorded its past. It moreover corresponds with the qualities usually attributed to Englishmen by other Europeans—their reputed reserve, their prudence in social intercourse, their excellent business-habits, their strong feeling of personal independence. Above all, it is engrafted on the history, as well as on the religious and political condition of the British nation. “*Le génie de l’Angleterre,*” says Lamartine,

“est habile et superbe.” The question is, what light this may throw on the language and literature of England. A variety of observations soon present themselves to bear out the analogy. In the first place, English style is remarkable for its sober and dispassionate diction, and thus fully corresponds with the reserve and *sang-froid* attributed to the national character. Much declamation will not suit it. To insert frequent interjections, or to employ a string of interrogations; to indulge in emphatic marks of either dislike or admiration; to dot whole lines with unutterable sentiment, would in English appear supremely ridiculous; and this is the reason why many a page of French cannot be literally translated so as to make good English. On the other hand, the language equally rejects the intricacies of the German style, the yard-long sentences, the inverted constructions, the artificial composition of words, and the deep subtlety of the argument. Next, we can trace in the pages of English philosophers the effect of the same practical tendency which so strongly characterizes the nation. No class of British authors illustrates this spirit more clearly than philosophers, whose favourite doctrines have usually been those of Utilitarianism, and a recommendation of common sense and experience. In advocating the useful and well-tested, in preference to the idealism of the Greek and German Schools, they expressed the most deep-rooted sentiment of the national mind. But not only in British philosophy, but also in English poetry, vestiges abound which point in a similar direction. The drama in England arose out of the so-called “moral” plays, and the sublime art of Shakspeare retains many traces of this origin in its plan and construction. Indeed, the moral is the prevailing sentiment of English poetry. It inspires the verses of Milton, it forms the theme of Pope, it animates the lines of Goldsmith, and has the largest share in the prose of Dr. Johnson. How man might improve his con-

dition, and what result his actions will have, this seems to have been, on the whole, the main topic of English poets and prose writers ; but not abstract theories of right and wrong, nor the mystery itself of man's earthly existence—the problem which has so often engrossed the attention of German poets and thinkers.

Theorizing Tendency of German Prose ; Lyrical Tendency of German Poetry.—After the preceding digression, we shall all the better be able to delineate the character of German literature. It may be described as eminently theorizing and lyrical, wherein it stands contrasted with the conventional or social tendency of the French, and the practical or moralizing spirit of English compositions. The characteristic feature of German authors, and perhaps in general of Germans, is their more contemplative disposition, as compared with most of their neighbours. Political circumstances, no doubt, cooperated with natural disposition to produce in them such a turn of mind. The division of the soil into a number of small states, the prevalence of despotic rule, and the want of opportunities for extensive commerce or distant navigation, all these causes have had the effect of rendering society in Germany more stagnant than elsewhere, and of diverting attention from politics and public questions. Beyond the practice of arms, but few active occupations could become habitual, and hence greater attention was bestowed on science and learning. The more the educated found themselves excluded from participation in state affairs, and lacked a suitable sphere for the exertion of their talents, the more they devoted themselves to the pursuit of abstract science. Thus the problems of Metaphysics and Divinity, of History and Language, in a minor degree also those of physical science, jurisprudence, and medicine, became the absorbing questions of the day ; and the literati followed, with the rest of the public, in the

wake of the scholars and metaphysicians. However, the characteristics of a literature can only in part be explained from political or social causes; the main cause must be sought in the bent of the popular mind. On this question we cannot do better than quote again the French authority already adduced:—"Le génie de l'Allemagne," says Lamartine, "est profond et austère." The German character is earnest, meditative, inclined to be stern; it is less desirous to please, and less fond of display than the French. Possessing neither the business tact nor the decision of many of his neighbours, the German can yet show a considerable amount of devotion and tenacity both of purpose and action, especially when his enthusiasm is once roused in behalf of a cause which he has made his own. He is naturally unostentatious, and pays but little regard to external indications of what passes within him. The truth of this observation cannot be better illustrated than by instancing the singularly undemonstrative form of worship which is in use in many parts of the country. The Lutherans have discarded not only the incense vessels, the crucifixes, the saints' images, and other pageantry of their Catholic ancestors, but abstain even from litanies, responses, kneeling, and other outward signs of prayer. With them religion addresses the mind exclusively, and not the senses; and as they are at the same time unwilling to abide by precedents, unless they recommend themselves to their reason, the Protestants of Germany have stripped their churches and worship of all ornament and formal embellishment. Much of the same contempt for forms and externals can also be traced in the literature of Germany. On the whole, the matter of composition is superior to its form. Teutonic authors evince more originality and perseverance in the pursuit of truth, than either attention to style or respect for authority in its enunciation. They usually possess much endurance in collecting laboriously a

number of facts; they also have the talent and penetration requisite for generalizing these facts, and veracity enough to communicate them accurately, but their style sometimes appears dry and theorizing, to which the natural tendency of the language contributes its share. This theorizing tendency of German literature is especially proved by the great number of philosophical productions published in Germany. But a sort of speculative vein runs through the majority of German prose compositions. The writings of a Lessing, a Schlegel, a Niebuhr, or a Pufendorf abound in criticism and analysis; and even in Schiller's and Goethe's works we could point out passages which exhibit the same tendency.

The principal characteristic of German poetry fully corresponds with the predominant feature of Teutonic prose. A contemplative disposition is always manifested in poetry by a predilection for lyrics. There is an evident connexion between the lyrical and the speculative sentiment: the one and the other presuppose a calm, a pensive, a serious tone; both dwell in the domain of reflection; both are removed from action; both express the world within us, rather than that without. For this reason the lyrical element is the largest in the poetry of Germany, just as the comic vein distinguishes that of France, and as the didactic predominates in that of England. The reader will not forget, at the same time, that in a country where a taste for music is so universally diffused as in Germany, there would be an additional inducement to lyrical verse composition. The melody needs its text, and song cannot warble without articulate notes. Most rich and varied, therefore, is the literature of *Lieder* in Germany. The larger portion of both Minne- and Meister-Gesang, the whole sacred poetry of pre-Lutheran and post-Lutheran times, the best effusions of Klopstock, Schiller, Goethe, and Heine, belong to this class of compositions. The lyrical tendency can even

be traced in departments where it is less legitimate, as we shall have sometimes to point out in speaking of the German epos and drama. The "Messiah" of Klopstock, and the tragedies of Goethe, often labour under this defect.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST PERIOD—THE MONASTIC AGE (350—1150.)

Character of this Period.—The record of the literary remains of Germany during the Middle Ages opens with the Monastic Age—an epoch which embraces no less than eight centuries, from the great migration to the Crusades. It is a period full of mystery and darkness, illuminated but here and there by a ray of light. Its scanty relics, however important for ethnographical and historic purposes, possess but little interest from a literary point of view. They bear witness to the great moral struggle which convulsed Germany in that space of time, the struggle between heathenism and Christianity. The triumph of the cross over Thor and Wodan was tardy and slow, marked, by a reluctant surrender of their national traditions on the part of the natives, as well as by martyrdoms on the part of those who converted them. The Church had to encounter far greater obstacles in Germany than she met with in England, France, Italy, or Spain; for here the spread of the Gospel was preceded by a long acquaintance with the Roman race and the Latin language, which served as the vehicle of communication to the early missionaries. No Roman had ever trodden the virgin soil of the interior of Germany; and the Apostles

of the Gospel had to cope with a new race of stubborn Pagans, whose tongues they did not know, and whose superstitions they did not understand. The most successful attempts at conversion proceeded from those preachers who owned some kind of kinsmanship with the tribes among whom they laboured. Thus already, in 350, under Valentinian, an ecclesiastic of Cappadocian descent, but who had lived among the Visigoths in Moesia, Bishop Ulfilas, gained over large numbers of his new countrymen to the Christian faith. But the tide of the migration swept away the fruit of his labours, and the dispersion of his tribe over Italy and Spain prevented the seed from taking root among other Germans. It was not until four centuries later, when the waves of the great Wandering had ceased to flow, and when several Teutonic tribes had become thoroughly Latinized abroad, that a new and successful resumption of the work of Ulfilas could take place. The conversion of the Germans was chiefly due to the zeal of the Anglo-Saxons and Irish, and to the arms of Charlemagne and his Franks. It was so destined that the mother-country should receive back Christianity as a return for her sons whom she had sent to people the land of her neighbours. Supported by their courage alone, a number of pious monks from Ireland and England came across the German Ocean in the seventh and eighth centuries. They preached among the Frisians, penetrated into the forests of the Saxons, and, nothing daunted by the death of many of their brethren, succeeded in erecting churches on the banks of the Rhine, Weser, and Elbe. Such men were St. Gall, who founded the monastery of Sanct Gallen, in Switzerland; Saints Kero, Columban, Kilian, and Fridolin, all of them Irishmen; and the great Apostle of Germany, St. Boniface or Winfried, an Englishman whose name is almost identified with the Christianization of the ancient Germans. In 744 A.D. the

abbey of Fulda was founded on the bank of the river Fulda, an arm of the Weser. Sturm, a friend and disciple of Winfried, was the first abbot who presided over it. A third missionary station was that of Corvey, in the same region of Germany.

As the early delegates of the Church were perfect strangers to the land of their adoption, they made it their first business to acquire a certain acquaintance with the language of the natives, though their horror of idolatry prevented them from showing any very liberal interest in popular traditions. To facilitate their intercourse with the Germans, they drew up some Latin-German vocabularies, or rather lists of Teutonic words, oddly spelt, and but ill understood, with some equally barbarous equivalents in monastic Latin opposite. Two such lists have come down to us. The one is said to have been made by St. Gall, the other by St. Kero; both are in a fragmentary state. These documents are very amusing, as exemplifying the linguistic exercises in which these primitive monks were engaged. If either they or the Church who sent them had been guided by enlarged principles of ecclesiastical policy, they might have preserved the songs or ballads of the old Germans; or, if their dread of heathenism did not allow this, they might at least have translated the Bible into German, in imitation of the spirited undertaking of Ulfilas; but the narrowness of their views did not allow such an enterprise. We find among the German clergymen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries reiterated attempts to execute for the good of their flocks some versions of the Creeds, the Homilies, the Benedictine Rules, and parts of the sacred volume; but the voice of the Roman Church distinctly interdicted the use of the native idiom for purposes of public worship, and any attempt at replacing the authorized Latin version of the Bible by a German translation would have been visited with her severe

censure. Hence the few versions already alluded to had no other value than that of literary experiments, or works of private devotion; still less attention was bestowed by the monks on the native poetry of their converts. Thus the Church took with one hand what she gave with the other. She taught writing and reading, but she refused to emancipate the national mind. She patronized literature and learning, but she proscribed all literature which was not Latin. Under such circumstances we may fairly question the obligations under which Germany rests to the early monks for her literary cultivation. The monastic era of literature means, indeed, its first awakening as well as its first stammer, but it means also its unworthy vassalage to Latin, its mutilation by its monkish foster-fathers, and its obscuration by the hands of the servants of the Church.

Ulfilas, 350.—This great preacher of the Gospel was born in 311. His parents were Goths, who during a temporary residence in Cappadocia had become Christians. He embraced the Arian doctrines; and as he lived among the Visigoths from a very early age, converted such numbers of them to Christianity that he was dignified by the title "Bishop of the Visigoths." He translated the Bible into the Mæso-Gothic dialect; but omitted the Books of Kings, because he feared (so it is said) to rouse the martial spirit of his tribe by a perusal of the wars of the early Jewish rulers. When, in 350, his friends and converts were closely pressed by the Ostrogoths, Ulfilas solicited and obtained for himself and them a refuge on the soil of the Roman Empire. Twice he attended general synods at Constantinople, where he died at last in 381. He did not live to see either his doctrines repudiated, or his tribe dispersed. The best manuscript of his Bible is now in Upsal, in Sweden, whither it was carried from Prague after the siege of 1648. It is called the *Codex argenteus* from the amount of silver with

which the initial letters of the chapters are inlaid. The following is the text of the Lord's Prayer in the Visigothic dialect :—"Atta unsar, thu in himinam, veihnai namo thein. Quimai thiudinassus theins. Vairthai vilja theins, sve in himina, jah ana airthai. Hlaif unsarana thana sinteinan gif uns himma daga. Jah aflet uns thatei skulans sijaima, svasve jah veis afletam thaim skulam unsaraim. Jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai, ak lausei uns af thamma ubilin. Unte theina ist thiudangardi, jah mahts, jah vulthus, in aivins."

After Ulfilas we have to make a leap of several centuries, in order to arrive at the next data in the literary history of the Germans.

Influence of Charlemagne.—Of all the tribes who changed their abodes during the migration, the Franks were the first who attained a fixed state of Society. They had left the banks of the Rhine and Maine about 420, accompanied by numbers of Burgundians and Visigoths, and founded in France an empire under the sway of the Merovingian, and subsequently the Carolingian kings. It is surprising how little they intermixed with the population whom they had conquered. For several centuries they lived among them, rather encamped than peacefully settled. They continued to speak the German language, in addition to the Gallo-Roman patois then used in France. The names and the descent of their sovereigns, from Pharamond to Childeric, and even to a later period, are thoroughly German, so were their laws and manners; nor can we speak of a specific country and a definite language of France until after the treaty of Verdun in 843, since up to that time the Franks looked upon themselves as being still one with those Franconian compatriots whom they had left behind, but from whom as yet no political boundary separated them. German Franconia, the cradle of the conquering race, formed part of Austrasia, or the

eastern portion of the empire. Since the reign of Clovis but few Frankish sovereigns bestowed any attention on other Teutonic tribes besides their own subjects. Charlemagne was the first who adopted a different line of policy, and acted as a conqueror towards other Germanic races. To his determined exertions the gradual extinction of Paganism among the Saxons is principally due; but, though he treated these tribes as heathens and barbarians, the great emperor never forgot his connexion with them, but always remembered the Teutonic origin of his race. He resided at Aachen, and spoke the German language as his "patrius sermo," according to the express testimony of his biographer, Einhard, or Eginhard. He himself drew up some grammatical principles of German, and used to recite the old ballads, in which the exploits of Teuton kings and heroes were celebrated. He charged the clergy to translate their Latin homilies into German as well as Gallo-Roman, since both these dialects were the recognized idioms of his subjects. Finally, he fixed by law the German and Gallic equivalents for the winds and months, when their denominations had become confused in the ideas of his people. On Charlemagne's death the necessity of dividing the two nationalities became more and more apparent, and this led to the formation of three separate empires of France, Deutschland—a name now first employed in public records—and Italy; but even after the treaty of Verdun, in 843, we find many proofs that the use of the High-German dialect still continued in the north and east of France. About 900, for instance, a Frankish monk, whose probable name was Huchbald, living in St. Amand, in Flanders, wrote a High-German ode, or song, dedicated to Louis III., and celebrating the victory which that French king had gained over the Normans in 881. This song is called "Das Ludwigslied," and it possesses a peculiar interest, as showing that the

use of the Teutonic dialect survived for fully five centuries after the Frankish conquest among the inhabitants of the north-east of France.

Alliterative Popular Ballads.—The Irish, English, or French monks who converted the ancient Germans, often heard them sing certain ballads, which embodied at once the history and the poetry of their own forefathers, and probably the same poems which Charlemagne is said to have recited and collected. These songs glorified the grand deeds of native chieftains—combats with dragons, expeditions to distant lands, rescues of captive damsels, and cruel acts of retaliation for past injury. The names of the chief heroes were Siegfried of the Netherlands, Dietrich of Bern or Verona, with his armour-bearer Hildebrand, and Günther of Burgundy. Another heroine was Guthrun, the Frisian maiden; and in all probability the tricks of Reynard the Fox formed also part of their poetic themes. As the majority of these ancestral legends breathed a thoroughly Pagan spirit, and were intimately bound up with the mythology of the native religion, it was plainly the interest, if not the duty, of the ecclesiastics to discourage and ignore this kind of composition. Thus the popular poetry of the ancient Germans was doomed to oblivion by their Christian civilizers. Had the natives possessed the art of writing, they might, notwithstanding, have saved their poetry from destruction. But, as all literary culture, which required the aid of pen and ink, was strictly limited to the monasteries, but one or two fragments of the old ballad-poetry could escape from the universal shipwreck; and it remained for the age which followed, when all fear of the return of Paganism had ceased, to retrieve the losses of the monastic era, and to re-discover and versify the almost forgotten traditions, which were then embodied in the *Nibelungen-Lied*, and other epics of the thirteenth century.

The form of the old ballad-poetry is no less remarkable than its subject. It employed a verse distinct from the Nibelungen-stanza, and is, in fact, unlike any other known verse of any literature. Its melody was regulated by syllabic emphasis, not by quantity, as in Latin and Greek poetry. There were always four accented or emphasized syllables in each of the two hemistichs of a line, and there were usually as many unaccented syllables inserted between or after them, so that on the whole the trochaic rhythm prevailed. But what is far more peculiar is the total absence of rhyme. Instead of it, Alliteration was employed, *i. e.* the repetition of the same consonant or vowel in the beginning of several words of the same line.*

Beowulf, 750.—The oldest alliterative legend that is known is Anglo-Saxon, and was composed in the North of Germany about 750. It relates an old Norse saga of Beowulf, a Danish prince, who encountered a fiendish cannibal, and slew him by the aid of enchanted weapons. But the prince finds at length his death after another successful combat with a sea-monster, which he also destroyed. The tale is not only more supernatural, but also longer, than might be desired, containing upwards of six thousand lines.

Hildebrandslied, 800.—More probable, as well as more brief, is the incident related in the Hildebrands-song, the oldest High-German poem extant, though it is of later origin than the Low-German Beowulf. The story of this famous ballad transfers us at once into the cycle of legends which form the substance of the Nibelungen-lay. The aged Hildebrand, who had accompanied his master, Diet-

* A specimen is given lower down, page 34. Alliteration is still found in a large number of old proverbs, or proverbial locutions, of nearly all Teutonic languages. In German, for instance, the following cases occur:— „Land und Leute“; „Mann und Frau“; „Haut und Haar“; „mit Schimpf und Schande“; „Wohl und Wehe“; „über Stof und Stein,“ and others.

rich of Bern, on his journey to Hungary, returns home, after the fight with the Nibelungen heroes, and their bloody destruction in the camp of Attila. While proceeding on his way with his Gothic followers, he is met by a hostile band, and among the latter is Hadubrand, his own son, whom he had left behind when still an infant. The two parties challenge each other, and their chiefs advance, each in front of his army, as the champions of their friends. They ask and tell each other's names before engaging, and soon Hildebrand becomes aware that he has his own child for his antagonist. He conjures him, by Irmingott, to desist from the fight, and informs him that he is his parent. But the youth only laughs at this assertion, and attributes it to a ruse of battle. "My father Hildebrand," quoth he, "has been dead this many a day; the sailors told me so, who came over the Wendel-sea (the Adriatic or Mediterranean). You are a cunning Hun—you think to cheat me." Hildebrand still bewails his strange lot, which, after thirty years of danger and many a narrow escape, dooms him either to die by the hands of his son, or else to become his slayer. But all parleying is fruitless, and the fatal combat commences. Ere long their lances are broken, their shields are dashed to pieces, and already their swords are drawn to decide the fight. But here the ballad suddenly breaks off. The two Fulda monks, who culled its lines from the mouths of the natives, left their manuscript unfinished, or else part of it was lost. But from other sources we know how the ballad concluded. The father succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in disarming his son, and by sparing his life convinced him of his paternity. They then return together to their common hearth in Lombardy.

The lay of Hildebrand contains 66 alliterative lines. Its language is Old High German; but there are in this, as in other specimens of that dialect, a number of Low-

Germanisms, such as *seggen* for *sagen*, *det* for *das*, *enti* for *und*, and so on. The following are the four beginning lines—the alliteration is marked by italics:—

“ Ih *geh*orta *det* *seggen*, *dat* *sih* *ur*hettun ænon muotin
Hiltibraht *enti* *Hadubrant*, *untar* *Heriun* *tuem*.
Sunu *anti* *Fatar* *ango* *iro* *Saro* *rihtun*
Garutun *se* *iuro* *Gudhamun*, *gurtun* *sih* *iro* *Suert* *ana*.”

[I heard it said that once each other had challenged
Hildebrand and Hadubrand, between two armies;
Son and father their armours did adjust;
They prepared their battle-tunics, girded their swords on.]

Waltharilied 930.—To the same cycle of legends belongs the story of the Visigothic knight Walther of Aquitaine, who, when detained as a hostage in the camp of Attila, made his escape with a young countrywoman, the fair Hildegund, who was similarly imprisoned. The flight of the pair to the far west, and their encounter with some Burgundians, who opposed their progress in the Vosges mountains, was told in an old German poem, of which, however, only the Latin version of the monk Ekehard II. of St. Gall is now in existence. Lately, when Scheffel wrote a biography of this monk in his famous novel “Ekehard,” he translated back the Latin of Ekehard into modern German.

Religious Poetry of the Monastic Age.—The other relics of the monastic era are all religious poems, dating from the end of the eighth century, when Christianity had fairly dawned on Germany, up to the twelfth and thirteenth. In addition to translations of the Creeds, the Church hymns, and the Benedictine vows, there occur some independent pious effusions, either simple prayers or versions of Scripture-history, and such Scripture-doctrines as inspired the new converts with particular awe.

One of the earliest is the *Wessobrun Prayer*, a short alliterative poem, in use among the monks of the convent

of Wessobrun, in Bavaria, which had been founded in 750, and is still in existence. It celebrates the power of the Creator, and prays for His mercy and assistance, but the first four lines are part of a heathenish Saxon poem on the beginning of all things.

Muspilli, S30.—The older religious poetry throughout employed the same metre and poetic forms as the popular ballads. This may also be observed of *Muspilli*, a poem which sets forth the horrors of Doomsday. The name *Muspilli* meant fire, and was borrowed from heathen mythology, although here it was used to denote the judgment-day of the Christian religion. According to the anticipations of its author, the Antichrist shall come on the last day, and fight with Elias. When the first drop of the innocent prophet's blood has trickled on the earth, then in that moment the firmament shall be torn asunder, the general conflagration shall commence, and the nations of the earth, both dead and living, shall be called to their reckoning.

Heliand, S30.—But the greatest circulation was acquired by a third poem, called "*Heliand*," or the Saviour. It is written in Low-German, and was the work of a Westphalian rustic. Whatever may have induced him to forestall Milton, whether it was Louis le Débonnaire, or, as another report states, a nocturnal vision, that urged him to describe the life and death of the Saviour, it is certain the author was no mean competitor for the laurels of the British bard. His verse displays the most admirable simplicity of diction, as well as a judicious fidelity to the text of Scripture. It is only to be regretted that of his poem but fragments should have come down to us; the rest, along with the name of the poet, is lost, although there is an imitation of his poem, which is not equal in merit to the extant specimens of the *Heliand*, viz. Otfried's *Krist*.

Learned Monks.—The three religious poems hitherto enumerated show by their alliterative form as well as by their contents, that their authors were still novices in the Christian faith, and recollected the mythology and poetry of their forefathers, whose poetic metre they preserved in their verses. But about 870 the alliterative form of writing was abandoned, and rhyme, the modern form of poetry, put in its place by a Franconian monk of the name of Otfried. After the generation of foreign missionaries—such as Saints Gall, Kero, Kilian, Fridolin, and Winfried—there had sprung up a number of native ecclesiastics, some of whom were distinguished for their learning, and a few also for their poetry. To this class belonged Hrabanus Maurus, the Archbishop of Mayence, who composed some learned glossaries; and especially the Franconian **Otfried**. This monk paraphrased in High-German the “Heliand” of the Saxon rustic (868), and dedicated it, under the title of *Krist, or Evangelien-Harmonie*, to the first king of Germany proper, Ludwig the German. Otfried lived in Fulda and in St. Gallen, which had been founded by the Irishman, St. Gall. In the latter part of his life he retired to Weissenburg, in Alsatia. His metre is very careful, though his poetry is mediocre. He interspersed the simple Scripture narrative with too many homilies and reflections of his own, which mar the effect. His motive for abandoning alliteration was either a desire to imitate the Latin homilies, which used to employ rhyme, or else an idea that alliteration was a heathen form of poetry, because it was found in all the native ballads.

About one hundred years after Otfried, another monk, of the name of **Notker**, and surnamed *Labeo* and *Teutonicus*, meditated and composed within the precincts of St. Gallen. He executed a version of the Psalms in the Swabian High-German dialect. This translation, together

with Otfried's *Krist*, are the true types of the present language of Germany in its earliest stage; for the *Moeso-Gothic*, the *Low-German*, and other idioms employed in the earlier ages, are only so many kindred dialects; whereas the *Southern German* of *Notker*, and the *Franconian* of *Otfried*, are the direct antecedents and parents of the modern *Hoch-Deutsch*. The forms of *Notker* show an astonishing similarity to the diction of the present day. The following is the first verse of his *Psalms*:—

“*Der Man ist salig, der in dero Argon Rat ne geging,
noh an dero Sündigon Ueuge ne stuont, noh an demo
Suht-Stuole ne saz.*”

In this passage we need but alter the spelling a little, drop the reduplication in the past of *gehen*, put for the stool of the mocking or *Sucht-Stuhl*, as *De Wette* has it: “*In dem Kreise der Spötter,*” and we have German as it is now spoken.

Some time after *Notker*, a monk of *Fulda*, in *Franconia*, called *Williram*, translated the *Song of Solomon* (in German *Das hohe Lied*). He became, in 1048, abbot of the *Bavarian* monastery, *Ebersberg*, where he died in peace in 1085. A recluse of the name of *Ava* composed, about 1120, a poem on the gifts of the *Holy Ghost*, and likewise indulged her imagination on the subject of *Doomsday* and the *Antichrist*, two topics which seem to have possessed peculiar charms for the fancy of the earlier converts. These compositions conclude the *Old High-German* period, or the *monastic era*; and we now proceed to the epoch of the *Crusades*, in which the literature of Germany entered on a new and brilliant phase.

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND PERIOD.—ERA OF THE MINNESÄNGER (1150—1300)
AND MEISTERSÄNGER (1300—1534).

Character of the Period.—The second period of German literature embraces all the poetry and prose composed in the Middle High-German dialect, a form of the language simply more advanced than the Old. This period differs, however, from the preceding in something more than the diction. There is also a marked alteration in spirit and tone. Down to the time of the Crusades, monasticism had held possession of literature, and had manifested itself in devotional, occasionally also in erudite, compositions. Monkish ideas and clerical objects had so thoroughly monopolized all writing as to procure the total neglect of the national ballad-poetry. But all this was suddenly changed by the Crusades. For though these colossal expeditions were ~~got~~ set on foot by the Church, and constituted in reality but another off-shoot of the same religious enthusiasm, which had been so predominant throughout, they were, notwithstanding, accompanied by a powerful cooling-down of the ecclesiastical spirit, and led to a consequent waning and decay of clerical authority. Germany was more than other countries the seat of this re-action against the influence of the clergy. For here the Salic emperor, Henry IV., had involved himself in a fierce quarrel with Pope Hildebrand and the Church; and this mutual animosity had, if possible, still increased under his son, and under the emperors of the Hohenstaufen line. The reigns of Frederick Barbarossa and his grandson, Frederick II., are one uninterrupted struggle against the Papacy and its allies. No wonder, therefore, if the kind of poetry which such sovereigns

patronized breathed a more secular spirit than that which had preceded. The mind of Germany, though not less religious than before, had thrown off the yoke of clerical guidance in all literary productions. Not only were the subjects of composition no longer devotional—not only was the old national ballad-poetry drawn from its obscurity, and the prejudice which hitherto had stood in the way of its cultivation set at defiance—but also the authors themselves ceased to belong to the clerical order. A new class of composers now started into existence. In the first century and a-half they were the knights; in the following age, up to the Reformation, they were the artisans.

Chivalrous minstrelsy, with which we have first to deal, is called in German *Minne-Gesang*, from *Minne*, which means Love, its main theme, though not the only one. The impulse to this kind of composition came from France; the poets of Provence, called *Troubadors*, were its first inventors, and thence it spread to Flanders, and subsequently to Germany. The first Crusade, from 1096 to 1099, was the chief medium through which minstrelsy was thus propagated. In that great enterprise the Flemish, and generally the Northern French nobility, had taken the lead; and as there were also a large number of German Crusaders in this, and still more in all the following Crusades, this had the effect of acquainting the German knights with the poetry of their neighbours. At every pilgrimage to the Holy Land, at every tournament, at every hospitable visit, in the hostelry, and in the banqueting-hall, as well as on the lonely high road that led to the East, the German knights met these minstrels from France; and often stood speechless while they listened to their soul-stirring songs about Roland the Brave, or Arthur and his knights, or about the far-off lady of their devotion. The troubadour touched the innermost chord of their music-loving heart. They caught his spirit, and soon began

warbling love-ditties, or celebrating heroic exploits, in their own native idiom. The more gifted among them became composers themselves, now called *Minnesängers*, while the others were content to repeat the poetry of their more talented companions. The choice of a fitting hero for their effusions could not puzzle them long. Some, indeed borrowed the topics of the troubadours, especially the legends about Arthur and his Round Table; but the more judicious among them thought of their own ancestral heroes, and selected Siegfried, Hagen, and Dietrich, with the rest of their fellows, as the most worthy subjects of German minstrelsy. Thus the epic and the lyric began to flourish in a degree unprecedented either in Germany or in any other part of Europe. The new art had soon become the universal fashion of knighthood. Several mighty princes set the example by assembling around them their favourite minstrels, and occasionally composing verses themselves. Thus the courts of the Hohenstaufen emperors became the resorts of the *Minnesänger*; but also the Dukes of Austria, and above all other princes, the Landgrave Hermann of Thüringen, devoted all the means in their power to the encouragement of chivalrous poetry. The latter held, in the year 1207, a famous meeting, or contest, at his castle of Wartburg, and bestowed prizes on the most successful composers. Hence this event is often called the Wartburg War, although it was but a harmless pastime. No less than 150 *Minnesänger* are enumerated between the years 1150 and 1300. In giving an account of their compositions, we shall fitly class them and the whole poetry of the age under the four following heads:—

1. Poetical chronicles and epopees based on history. Among these, poems on Alexander the King of Macedon, on Cæsar, Æneas, and Bishop Hanno of Cologne, lead the van. But the mighty names of the *Nibelungenlied*

and Gudrun, both taken from German traditions, obscure all others.

2. Then there are some more fictitious romances, borrowed from the troubadours, and founded on the vague Celtic legends about King Arthur and his Round Table. In these Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strasburg, are the most successful.

3. A third class of composition is made up of amorous and other lyrical songs, called *Lieder* (songs), and *Leiche* (lays). In these Walther von der Vogelweide, and afterwards Meister Konrad von Würzburg, chiefly excel.

4. Lastly there are some fables, satires, and didactic poems, such as the semi-epic fable of the Reynard; Amis, the roguish priest; Freidank's wise saws; and the Renner of Trimberg. With these the poetry of the thirteenth century ended. Prose writings there were none of any importance throughout this age.

Versified Chronicles.—The era of mediæval minstrelsy opens with several historico-political chronicles, composed between 1150 and 1200, and chiefly remarkable as having pointed out the way to a new and better style, namely, that of the national epic. The authors of this hybrid of truth and fiction came nearly all of them from the Lower Rhine, and one or two were Low-Germans. This circumstance cannot altogether be accidental. In all probability it was nothing else than the proximity to Flanders, whence the current of troubadour poetry flowed into Germany, that gave the Rhenish minstrels the start of their southern compatriots. An additional reason may have been that at that time the Emperor Lothario II., and the pro-Papal Welf family, shed considerable lustre on Saxony, their family possession, and thus procured to the north-west of Germany once more a temporary preponderance in politics as well as in literature. There

were also some clergymen, or *Pfaffen*, among these authors. But this was the last instance for several centuries to come in which either the clerical order or the Low-German portion of Germany made any contributions to poetry. Henceforth the genius of minstrelsy departs from both; it withdraws to Swabia, and becomes secular in spirit.

The Annolied (1078) seems to have been one of the earliest of these chronicles, though in this, as in the case of the others, we cannot give more than approximate dates. It was written in rhymed iambs, and sang the praises of Saint Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, who died in 1075. This prelate was a stern and haughty elector of the empire, remarkable in German history. It was he who seized, in 1062, the Emperor Henry IV., when yet a boy, and educated the youth, much against his will, at Cologne, until a still more unscrupulous dignitary of the Church, Bishop Adalbert of Bremen, managed to kidnap the imperial alumnus for his own ferula. The Church has canonized the archbishop, and the Hannolied makes him the hero of its enraptured eulogies. However, to diversify the theme, the pious author reports, in the space of his forty-nine stanzas, a variety of other events but loosely connected with the prelate. As Hanno had been a reigning sovereign in Cologne, and as Cologne was an old Roman town, we are treated to some Roman history; and, *à propos* of the Romans, we also hear of some Greeks. Thus Lucretia and Scævola figure in the song with Cæsar and the bull of Phalaris.

The Kaiser-Chronik, or Chronicle of the Emperors, resembles the preceding poem in vagueness of conception, as well as in style; its date is about 1142. Whole stanzas of both poems are literally the same, perhaps because the authors both copied a third, but unknown, chronicler. The original object of the Kaiser-Chronik was to celebrate the

Emperors of Germany up to the author's time; but as these sovereigns bore the title of Roman Cæsars, the chronicler thought it incumbent on him to go back to the history of Rome. The prototype of the Holy Roman Empire is found in no other personage than Romulus, first King of Rome.

The *Rolandslied* (1139) is the work of the Pfaffe or clergyman Konrad. It sings of Charlemagne's expedition to Spain, as well as of the exploits and death of his famous nephew, Roland the Brave. This illustrious knight had long been the hero of the troubadours, but now he was for the first time introduced in Germany. Konrad's poem is the earliest known imitation of the French. He says that Henry the Lion, the head of the Welf family, and leader of the pro-Papal party, had brought the original from France, and that the same prince had patronized him in giving a German version of its story.

The *Alexanderlied* (1140) was composed by another Pfaffe, named Lamprecht. The Macedonian king was his subject, and a French troubadour, Aubri de Besançon, his probable source. We may judge of the historical notions of this age, when we read that Alexander tried to storm and capture Paradise, which all his expeditions were intended to discover. But both he and his Grecians are represented as obliged to depart, without getting inside the *Pays de Cocagne*, because they lacked the essential which would have unlocked the gates, namely, humility.

The *Æneid*, or rather *Eneit*, of Heinrich von Veldeke (1185) is the last of this kind of compositions. Its author, who is often honoured with the title of Father of Minstrelsy, was a Westphalian by birth; and this accounts for the many Low-Germanisms observable in his chronicle, just as in the others of the same time and origin. The native dialect of these Lower-Rhenish writers sometimes

coloured their generally High-German diction. Veldecke lived chiefly at Cleves, on the Rhine, with the counts of the Schwanenburg, in one of the classical spots of German legends. He also frequented the castle of Wartburg, where the contest of the Minnesänger was held under his presidency. He stood in great repute for skill in composition and acquaintance with the technical rules of minstrelsy. The chronicle, or rather the romance, to which he owed his reputation as a poet, was an abstract of his singular notions of the Trojan War, and the fate of Æneas. It was not founded on either Virgil or Homer; for Veldecke could not read either, if he could read at all. His chief source was an obscure French troubadour, whose name and poetry are both unknown.

Lay of the Nibelungen.—Der Nibelungen Noth, or the Doom of the Nibelungen, is the title of the most sublime monument of mediæval poetry. This epic, the Iliad of Germany, treats of the murder of Siegfried, an ancient hero of the earlier half of the fifth century, and of the ruthless revenge which his implacable widow, Kriemhild, inflicted on her husband's assassins. It is founded on an old tradition, which ever since the time of the great migration had been current among the people; and it arose probably out of a number of ancient ballads, in which that tradition and other events like it were handed down in Germany for many generations past. The anterior existence of these ballads, comparable in all respects to the alliterative Hildebrandslied, is rendered probable by a variety of circumstances, one of which is the metre. The lay of the Nibelungen contains unmistakable traces of alliteration almost in every stanza, and we may reasonably surmise that these are but vestiges of the old ballads which were incorporated in the Nibelungen-lay. In other respects the verse is entirely different from that of the song of Hildebrand. The poem is written in rhymed

stanzas, of four lines to each stanza; each line has two hemistichs of three iambi, and an unaccented syllable is added in the middle, before the pause. The final hemistich alone has four instead of three iambi, which increase in length was intended to give to the stanza a more majestic and sweeping close, just as in the famous Spenserian stanza which Lord Byron re-introduced. The first four lines run thus:—

“ Uns ist in alten mæren wunders vil geseit
von heleden lobebæren, von grôzer arebeit:
von freude unt hôchgezîten, von weinen unde klagen,
von küener recken strîten muget ir nu wunder hœren sagen.”

[There are, in ancient story, full many wonders told
Of men of matchless glory, of labours great and bold,
Of joys and festive revels, of weeping and of woe,
Of daring heroes' battling, their wond'rous deeds ye now shall know.]

In the earlier portion of the epic the scene is laid at Worms, the capital of the Burgundians, about the year 433 A.D., or thereabout, when King Günther was reigning there. The lay opens with the arrival of young Siegfried from the Netherlands. He comes to sue for the hand of the fair Kriemhild, the king's sister. His suit is accepted, and he is promised the hand of the princess on condition that he will first assist Günther in his own bridal expedition. The king was enamoured of Brunhild of Isenland, or Iceland, in the far north, a fierce amazon, or Walkyre, who refused to marry one of her suitors unless she were previously overcome by him in single combat. Thus Siegfried accompanies Günther to meet Brunhild; and when the king fails to subdue his cruel antagonist, Siegfried rescues him from ignominy and death, by vanquishing Brunhild for him in disguise. His victory secures to both the attainment of their wishes, and a twofold marriage is speedily celebrated. But the proud amazon conceives a hidden contempt for her husband, as well as a

passion for Siegfried, which, from not being gratified, turns into sullen rage, and mixes with jealousy and hatred towards Kriemhild, the adored bride of Siegfried. Years, however, roll on in undisturbed peace, while Siegfried lives at Xanten on the Rhine, in the Netherlands, some two hundred miles from Worms. One day, however, ten years after their marriage, Siegfried and his wife come on a visit to Günther, and stay some time with their relatives. With that opportunity the long-smouldering jealousy between Kriemhild and Brunhild bursts out in open flames. A quarrel about precedence in church (for they are represented as Christians) is the prelude. Brunhild treats the other as her inferior and her vassal's wife, while Kriemhild taunts her sister-in-law with her earlier defeat, and actually shows her, in derision, the very girdle and ring which Siegfried had taken from her as trophies of his victory. Thereupon Brunhild's rage knows no bounds. She assembles in secret a council, and demands vengeance. But, as it seemed dangerous to touch Kriemhild while her husband was alive, the death of the latter is decided upon. The king and his two brothers are induced to connive by the promise of the fabulous treasures which Siegfried was said to possess; and Hagen, a grim old knight, and a vassal of Günther's, pledges himself to do the deed. Siegfried is decoyed into a forest on a hunt; and on the brink of a cool streamlet, whither he had gone to quench his thirst, the hero is pierced by Hagen's javelin. After a brief struggle, he breathes his last, sadly moaning for Kriemhild.

The corpse is brought home, and carried to the grave, amidst the agonies of his widow. She wishes to go home; but Günther, who half repents the deed, and professes to pity the condition of his sister, promises her safety if she will only stay in Worms. What is more, he artfully promises to fetch for her from the Netherlands all the

treasures of her husband, especially the "hoard" of the Nibelungen, a fabulous heap of gems and gold, which Siegfried had taken from the giants of Fogland, or the Nibelungen (from *Nebel*, fog). Poor Kriemhild yields to necessity, and buries her plans of vengeance under the guise of a reconciliation. The treasure, which had so long excited the greediness as well as the curiosity of the Burgundians, is fetched. Twelve cartloads of gold and jewellery come up the Rhine, and are presented to Kriemhild. But before long Hagen seizes on the hoard, and deprives her of it in the name of the king, on pretence that she had employed it to bribe the people, and to spread disaffection. When thus the treasure is in the hands of the Burgundians, these become the Nibelungen Lords, or the Nibelungen, which title had before belonged to Siegfried after having taken it from its previous owners. The sword and other trophies of Siegfried remained at Worms, but the gold and silver were buried by Hagen in the depths of the Rhine at Bingen, and were never afterwards discovered.

In the meantime Kriemhild is fretting in solitude. For years she will not speak to her brothers—on Hagen she will not look. At length a better day dawns for her. Attila, or Etzel, King of the Huns, asks for her hand, and sends his vassal, Rüdiger, to Worms, with offers of marriage. Kriemhild long declines; but at last, when Rüdiger has sworn to avenge her wrongs, she consents to become King Etzel's wife, and departs for Burgundy to the camp of the Huns, far down the Danube in Hungary. But, notwithstanding the kindness of her powerful husband, her former happiness will not return, and every day she prays, as she had done for years, that she may be avenged on Siegfried's assassins. At length she prevails on the king to invite her relatives in Burgundy to come to a festival in Hungary. Günther unsuspectingly accepts

the invitation, but Hagen clearly perceives the snare laid for him. His apprehensions, however, do not deter him from accompanying his sovereign into the land of the strangers; and several hundred Burgundians start on the expedition, led by their Nibelungen chieftains. On their journey they receive repeated warnings, and ominous forebodings of impending danger; but they proceed, and are joined by Rüdiger, as well as by Dietrich of Bern (Verona), who, with his armour-bearer, Hildebrand, was likewise going to King Attila's camp. Shortly after their arrival, a part of the Burgundians are surprised in an hostelry, and mercilessly put to the sword. The princes and Hagen were just at a banquet in Attila's hall, when the fight began. Here at length Kriemhild rises, and reminds the Nibelungen of their old misdeed; she hurls at them furious threats and invectives, and advises them to surrender at mercy. But Hagen, who had foreseen this event, and knew he had nothing to hope, persuades his liege lord to refuse this proposal; and, leaving viands and goblets, both parties rush to arms. The doom of the Nibelungen is now at hand. Rüdiger, Dietrich, Hildebrand, and others, take up the cause of Kriemhild; the Burgundians are slain one by one; the hall is set on fire; and at last Günther and Hagen lie fettered at the feet of Kriemhild. The sight of the battle, and the loss of a son whom she had by Siegfried, had exasperated her to such a pitch of fury, that on failing to elicit from her prisoners the secret of the hoard, which they had hidden, she first orders Günther to be beheaded, and then stabs Hagen with the sword of Siegfried. Her atrocious conduct, however, causes deep disgust among the heroes present; and overpowered by his loathing, Hildebrand cuts Kriemhild down to the ground. Thus the first and last of all the noble Burgundians lie bleeding or dead, and none returns but a solitary minstrel, who told their tale.

Such is a brief outline of this great epopee, which stands in the same relation to subsequent German poetry as the Iliad to the succeeding literature of Greece. The grandeur of its action, the pathos of its scenes, the consistency of its characters, and the simplicity of the narrative, are no less admirable than its general historic truth. As a picture of old German manners, and as a description of the state of society in and after the migration, the Nibelungenlied leaves little to be desired. The names of the principal personages are matter of history; so also is the destruction of Burgundian tribes and cities by the Huns in 437; and as the King of the Huns had previously reduced several Teutonic princes to a state of vassalage, and used to assemble them in his camp, near Buda, in Hungary, the visit of the Nibelungen has nothing improbable in it; but little is known in history about Siegfried, whose name occurs all the oftener in ancient German mythology. The only palpable anachronism seems to be the presence of Dietrich of Verona. It is usually supposed that he is the famous Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who defeated Odoacer at Verona (German, Bern) in the year 476, and who became thereupon King of Italy, and died in 526. If this be really the case, and no other Dietrich be meant, though he had many namesakes among the Gothic chiefs at that time, nothing remains but to assume that the bard has in this instance taken some poetical liberty in introducing a chieftain who, in the year 445, or thereabout, when the catastrophe must be supposed to have taken place, could scarcely be more than ten years old.

As regards the time of composition, the only thing known for certain is that the poem received its present shape about 1210, by the hands of a minstrel whose name is not known. Heinrich von Ofterdingen has been mentioned as the one who gave it its final touches, but on no

sufficient evidence. The versification is of no very ancient date, as the Nibelungen stanza was only invented about the year 1170, and was never used before that time. In addition to the old ballads which served as a groundwork for the ultimate compilers, a Latin version, dating from the year 980, is mentioned in the Wail of the Nibelungen, a continuation of the lay itself. Summing up all these circumstances, in their bearing on the origin of the poem, we come to the conclusion, that about 1210 one or more Minnesänger reduced some twenty pre-existing ballads of the Nibelungen saga to a single epic; that they altered the verse employed in these alliterative ballads, and introduced a stanza of their own; that they also introduced into the assemblage of separate stories greater coherence and connexion; and the result of this remodelling process is the Nibelungenlied, as it has come down to us. Such is the hypothesis now generally received in Germany. Professor Lachmann, of Berlin—the same who attempted to trace seventeen original songs as the component parts of the Iliad—is also the most renowned advocate of a similar hypothesis, in regard to the old German epic—the so-called *Kleinlieder-theorie*, indeed his case is stronger in the latter instance than in the former. His disciple Haupt, and Simrock, the translator of the Nibelungen into modern German, and recently W. Scherer, adopted Lachmann's views. Others, especially Holtzmann, Bartsch, and Pfeiffer, reject the idea of part composition, as unworthy of a work of genius; and by pointing to the marks of plan and design occurring throughout the epic, plead for a single author, though they allow interpolation and revision by later hands. The first composer is supposed to have preceded by some centuries the final version of 1210. The latter portions of the poem were evidently composed in Austria, or by one who had lived in Austria (F. Pfeiffer thinks it was by a minstrel, called Kürenberg);

they show a close acquaintance with the scenery of the Danube and the geography of the Hungarian frontier land. It is also probable that this part of the poem was written or re-written during the Hungarian wars, under Henry the Fowler and Otho I., in 933 and 955, because the terror at that time spread by the Huns or Magyars would naturally tend to revive any old tradition about King Attila and the great migration.

1. **Gudrun, and other Lays.**—The second great epos of this era is Gudrun, or Guthrun. This lay narrates incidents of Norman piracy, and of life on the shores of the North Sea. The principal heroine of the story is a faithful Frisian maid, who, in the absence of her father and bridegroom, is carried off by a rejected suitor, and has to perform menial services on the coast of Normandy. Yet she will never consent to break her vow, nor become the wife of the traitor who had carried her off. Meantime her friends seek everywhere to discover a trace of the lost one; but all their endeavours fail. At last, however, their efforts are crowned with success. One morning, when Gudrun is washing clothes by the seaside, and laments her cruel fate, her distress attracts the notice of two boatmen, who had but lately landed on the shore, and seemed to scour the country as if in search of something. One of these men is Gudrun's lover, who soon recognizes, and forthwith rescues his former bride. The castle of the pirate is stormed; and after many acts of retaliation, though not unmixed with generosity, the fleet of the Frisians, which hovers in the bay, carries home the faithful maiden to better days of love and happiness. The pirate, who had become a prisoner in his turn, receives pardon from Gudrun, and gratefully accepts the hand of one of her friends.

The versification of Gudrun, and the date of its composition, are nearly the same as those of the Nibelungen-

lay. Other epic poems of lesser note are Horny-skinned Siegfried, King Dietrich's fight with the Dragon, Laurin the Dwarf, and Ecke's Expedition. In the majority of these poems either Siegfried or Dietrich is the hero; and all were collected for the first time, in 1472, in the Helden-Buch of Caspar Roon, where also the ballad of Hildebrand and his son figures, in the shape of a heroic poem of about thirty stanzas.

2. **Romances about King Arthur and his Round Table.**—The class of writings to which we now pass differs from the preceding in two respects. It is more fantastic and unhistorical than most of the lays before mentioned. Besides, it is borrowed from a foreign literature, and celebrates other than German heroes. The Minnesänger selected their themes not only in the ancestral legends of their own nation, but imitated the troubadours in resorting to Celtic or British traditions. Arthur, King of the Damnonii, and the twelve knights who sat round his table, were the personages who filled their imagination; and the search for the holy Graal, or the cup from which our Saviour drank at the Last Supper, was strangely interwoven with the marvellous exploits of these worthies. In the romances of this class, the laws of chronology, geography, and history, were utterly set at nought; the characters were unnatural, and devoid of local or national colouring; scarcely a vestige of resemblance to the Celtic traditions—themselves but shadowy legends—was left, save some distorted British name; while in the thread of their imaginary incidents a sickly affectation of saintliness was often followed by indelicate passages, or by proofs of excessive admiration for the female sex. Three Minnesänger acquired especial fame among their contemporaries for the pathos and brilliancy of their romances.

The first of these was **Hartmann von Aue** (about 1160–1210), a Swabian by birth. He learned some Latin

and French in his youth, and joined the Crusades in 1189 and 1197, but soon returned from the East. His two principal poems are *Erek*, composed in 1192, and *Iwein*, about 1202. Both are called after Knights of the Round Table; and the latter especially displays no mean skill in its narrative, which recounts the feats and mishaps of a love-sick and disappointed cavalier. Hartmann has also left a romance on a Swabian legend, called *Der arme Heinrich*. It is the story of the cure of a knight suffering from leprosy through the devotion of his tenant's daughter, a girl of fifteen, who offers to sacrifice herself to save him.

The second, **Wolfram von Eschenbach**, was born about 1160, at Anspach, in Bavaria. He was rather poor, and probably his life was chequered with struggles and disappointments. Landgrave Hermann, of Thüringen, often invited him to Eisenach. Wolfram had not learned to read or write; but he understood French, and this helped him on the road to composition, which was transmitted by the Minnesänger *vivâ voce* to others, who could write. He has left many lyrical verses: among his romances his *Parcival* (1205), his *Willehalm* (1216), and his *Titurel* are the most famous. Wolfram was an earnestly religious poet, remarkable for deep feeling and scrupulous morality. Sometimes his sentimentality becomes rather morbid. The romance of *Lohengrin*, which describes the adventures of *Parcival's* son, is sometimes ascribed to him. It is the story of the knight with the swan, made famous by the opera of Wagner. *Lohengrin*, being ordered by the Holy Graal to go to Brabant to protect the beautiful *Else* against the cruelties of a rapacious guardian, sailed up the Rhine in a boat drawn by a swan. On finding *Else*, he slew her guardian, and married the princess, on condition that she never asked after his name, country, or past history. But when, after eleven years of a happy wedded

life, Lohengrin had gone abroad on an expedition against the Huns, Else was haunted by a suspicion that he was the son of a sorcerer, and owed his successes to the help of the black art. Consequently she asked him the fatal question on his return, and in reply learned the truth, but lost her knight, who departed instantly as he had come. The author of this romance is not known.

The third romance-writer, **Gottfried von Strasburg**, was only a simple burgher, but well educated. He also worked upon French versions of British legends, and commenced in this style a poem, entitled "Tristan and Isolde," but died about 1210, without having finished it. His Tristan is a mediæval Don Juan; for Gottfried was a more worldly poet than either of his two predecessors. His tale, however, is full of feeling and genuine passion. Tristan, a young and daring prince, after a variety of strange adventures, is sent by his uncle, the King of Cornwall, to escort from the court of an Irish king the princess Isolde, whose hand had been promised to the king. But during the voyage Tristan falls in love with his fair charge, and the lady returns his passion with all the greater warmth, as a love-potion, intended for her old husband, was by mistake drunk by her and Tristan. When they arrive in Cornwall, the king is not slow in discovering this breach of faith. However, the marriage takes place, and not until long afterwards the guilty pair fly to the wilderness, to escape from the vengeance of the king. However, they are pardoned, and Isolde returns to her husband, while Tristan goes abroad. He marries in Brittany another Isolde, but can never forget the first, and at last, by his wounds in battle and his sorrows from love, seems likely to die, unless Isolde of Cornwall is sent for to cure him. Here the poem breaks off. For the conclusion of the story see Tennyson's "Last Tournament" in his "Idyls."

3. **Lyrical Poetry.** — The Minnesänger employed themselves not only in heroic compositions, but also in lyrics; and in this class some of their happiest effusions must be reckoned, always excepting the great epopee of the age. The spirit of chivalry naturally tended to lyrical composition, from its gallant and amorous bias, and from its almost unbounded veneration for the female sex. Hence this is the true era of love-ditties. The charms of the fair and the hopes of lovers, the sweets of reciprocated affection and the smart of a disappointed flame, the parting, the meeting, the expectation, and the farewell—all these have been expressed by the poetic knights in a thousand different ways, from the pensive to the passionate, from the *naïve* to the cynical. Sometimes, however, the everlasting key-note changes a little. Their lyric verse describes also the balmy month of May or the sunset irradiating the sky; or some devout religious aspirations break forth from the poet's bosom, or else the state of the Church and the condition of the Empire induce them to give utterance to anticipations more bitter than sanguine.

Walter von der Vogelweide is the greatest lyrical poet of that age. This knight was born in the valley of the Eisack in Tyrol, about 1165, and died in 1230. He travelled much, and seems to have known a great number of eminent contemporaries, such as King Philippe Auguste of France, the Empèror Otho IV. of Germany, Landgrave Hermann of Thüringia, and others. Emperor Frederick II. gave him, in 1214, a small estate near Würzburg, and entrusted him for a time with the education of his son. As he had espoused the cause of the Ghibellin dynasty against the Church and Pope Innocent III., Walter composed many poems, complaining of the power of the hierarchy and the decay of imperial authority in Germany. Political reflections of a gloomy character

abound in his poetry, but many of his *Lieder*, *Sprüche*, and *Leiche* are excellent verses, even in their modern translations.

Konrad von Würzburg was a burgher of great learning. As he was not a knight he bore the appellation *Meister*, a term which subsequently meant an artisan who has finished his apprenticeship. His chief places of residence were Basel and Strasburg, and he died in 1287. In addition to his lyrical poems, he has left also many romances—one on the Trojan War, another on the Emperor Otho with the Beard. His verse and diction were very polished, but his poetry abounded in exaggerations; neither does he possess the lofty enthusiasm of the earlier and chivalrous *Minnesänger*.

There are many minstrels of less note, such as Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Dietmar von Aist, Otto von Botenlaube, Tanhäuser, who visited the Venusberg; Kürenberger, the supposed composer of part of the *Nibelungen*; Reinmar of Hagenau, called the Old; and, lastly, Reinmar von Zweter.

4. **Didactic Poetry, Fables, and Satires.**—Among the poetical traditions which circulated in Germany from the earliest age, and were revived by poets of successive periods, the animal epos of *Reynard the Fox* holds a distinguished rank. The hero of this popular story was a cunning fox, who, by constantly cheating the other beasts, especially the wolf Isegrim, and an awkward but well-meaning bear named Braun or Bruin, gets himself incessantly into scrapes. On one occasion he is on the point of hanging for his multifarious offences, when the eloquent pleading of his dying speech once more extricates his neck from the noose. Each animal in this fable had a particular nickname, and bore a distinct character. Moral reflections were not aimed at, as is the case in the ordinary or *Æsopian* fable, but only a droll and

suggestive caricature of human practices under the guise of animals. The antiquity of this epic fable, as well as that of the nicknames connected with it, is demonstrated by an obvious fact. The French names for the fox and the donkey are *renard* and *baudet*, both of which are derived from their old German types in the fable, namely, Reynhart and Baldwin. This clearly proves that the Franks possessed an intimate acquaintance with this story before they left Germany. During the course of the Middle Ages several versions of the pranks of Master Reynard appeared in France even before any German poet made them the subject of written composition. An Alsatian poet of the middle of the twelfth century was the first German who attempted to versify this theme in High-German. His name was Heinrich der Gleissner, or Glichesære, an assumed epithet, which meant The Shining. He took in only a part of the story, under the title of Isegrim's Noth, or The Troubles of Isegrim, the Wolf. But in 1250 a Low-German poet, Willem, composed a Dutch *Reinaert*, which was remodelled, in 1498, by Hermann Barkhusen of Lübeck. This latter book became, in 1793, the chief foundation on which Goethe proceeded in his famous hexameter version of the same tale. The drollery and popularity of Reineke's story has received additional attractions from the talented illustrations of the painter Kaulbach.

A strictly didactic work is *Freidank's Bescheidenheit*, or, The Wise Saws of Mr. Freidank, a proper noun, supposed by some to stand for the lyricist Walther von der Vogelweide. This work contains a series of prudential counsels, and some good-humoured remarks on the actions of men: its language is simple and sober.

More satirical is *Der Pfaffe Amis*, by Stricker. The clergy of the Middle Ages are ridiculed in this amusing

production by recounting the tricks of a roguish friar. Amis, a reverend vagrant of great cunning, insinuates himself into the graces of others, to make good his living; he resides in England, where he sells the relics of long-departed saints, or trades with old books, or deals in pictures. Once he goes to a monastery, and gulls the abbot. By rendering himself eminently useful and agreeable to his superior in all kinds of trifling affairs, he gets an appointment as steward of the household, and turns his supreme command over the larder to a capital account. Another time a farmer's wife becomes the victim of her simplicity. As Amis gives her ocular proof of his ability to do miracles, she mistakes him for a saint; and while he grants her indulgences for all sins, past, present, and future, she testifies her gratitude with the best produce of her garden, her kitchen, and her distaff. Even a bishop gets a lesson from Amis; for when required to teach a donkey to read the Bible, Amis discovers for the bishop this excellent recipe—he puts allowances of provender between the leaves, and lo! Master Baldwin soon begins turning over leaf after leaf, and brays very distinctly whenever he is disappointed in his search.

The last poem requiring mention is Hugo von Trimberg's *Renner*, a succession of proverbs, reflections, fables, allegories, and stories of a moral and satirical tendency. It was written, about 1300, by a Bavarian schoolmaster.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF SECOND PERIOD — THE MEISTERSÄNGER
(1300—1534).

Origin of Meister-Gesang.—The brilliant era of the Minnesängers was but of short duration. Towards the end of the thirteenth century a visible decay overtook knighthood throughout Europe; and the decline of chivalry brought about, as a consequence, the cessation of heroic minstrelsy, as well as the subsidence of all those amorous ditties and martial romances to which the lofty genius of the knights had given birth. We can always observe that the changes in the history of literature are merely the result of antecedent changes in the social condition of the nations; and of this law the present instance affords a striking illustration. Scarcely had the Crusades come to an end, and the impetus which they gave to chivalrous enterprise fairly subsided, when their literary leadership departed from the knights, along with their political influence. When the expeditions to the Holy Land no longer engaged their attention, they employed their time chiefly in lawless feuds and unbridled rapine, so that their contemporaries soon learned to hate and despise them as much as they had once loved and admired them. The subsequent invention of gunpowder rendered the social position of the knights still worse. Their once terrible weapons and armour now proved harmless on the field of battle, and their formerly impregnable castles were battered down with cannon by the emissaries of law and justice. In proportion as the knights had sunk, the

cities had risen. Commerce and industry were showering wealth and power on the burghers ; nor was it long before poetry also found in their town-halls and club-houses that shelter and care which knightly castles ceased to afford. Henceforth the patronage of art devolved on the middle and lower classes ; and the German Muse, who had formerly been the guest of the noble and the mighty in the land, now sought the artisans in their humble dwellings, as a welcome, albeit degraded, companion. Even among the townspeople, it was not the rich, but the poor and plebeian part of the population, who had still a heart and leisure for minstrelsy, when poetry was exiled everywhere else. In most cities of Germany, especially those of the south, the industrial portion of the community enjoyed a preponderance of numbers, and also of spirit, over the wealthier votaries of commerce or agriculture. The artisans had formed themselves into large associations, called Guilds, and these became the true nurseries of poetry. The farmer and the merchant were, from the nature of their occupation, less likely to relish verse and song than the more sedentary mechanic. The latter might find room for music during the very progress of his work ; and on Sundays, or when holiday time had come, he might lay aside his tools, and repair to the hall or inn of his guild, to display before a crowd of admiring companions his talent for recitation, or his gift as a songster and verse-maker, until his powers were exhausted, or his audience grew tired. As many members, however, were altogether indifferent about poetry, and thought it an irksome importation among the affairs of their professional meetings, it was soon found more convenient to establish separate inns and special associations for the amateur verse-makers of each guild. Here the poetically-disposed among the weavers, barbers, shoemakers, or tailors, might meet kindred spirits, and indulge

their favourite pastime to their hearts' content. Thus arose the *Schools of Meistersänger*, or associations of poetical artisans, clubs composed of the literary *dilettanti* among all the guilds of a town, and differing from the professional associations only by their purely ornamental character, and a total absence of any lucrative trade or pursuit. These "schools" were in other respects perfect artisan guilds: they kept their particular statutes, had their privileges and charters signed by the highest authority in the land; they acquired property, and observed certain ceremonies on stated days. Nobody could become a member of their corporation except after giving some satisfactory evidence of his skill as a verse-maker. They held regular meetings in their club-houses during the week, and on Sunday afternoons they used to assemble in the church. The merits of performers were subjected to the judgment of certain umpires, called *Merker*. These also kept lists or registers of rules on metre, rhyme, and song, and this, their code of laws on poetry, went by the name of *Tabulatur*. The first institution of an artisan club occurs, before 1300, in the city of Mayence, where Heinrich Frauenlob is said to have founded a school of Meistersänger. His example was soon imitated in Strasburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Vienna, and Ulm. In the fifteenth century scarcely any large town of Germany was without an association of this kind, and the reader will probably not be surprised to learn that some of them are still in existence in the southern cities.

Compositions of the Meistersänger.—The preceding exposition can leave little doubt as to the radical difference that must have existed between the *Minne-Gesang* and the low-bred poetry which succeeded it. The former was addressed to brilliant audiences of knights and noble ladies, with their retinues of squires and pages, assembled in some spacious baronial hall, amidst trophies of war and

time-honoured armorial bearings. Chivalrous exploit was its theme, or stirring amorous adventure. On the contrary, the Meistersänger found but humble hearers, and were accordingly compelled to lower both their tone and their subject. There may have been some sage alderman, and here and there an old-fashioned burgher's wife; but the majority of the company would consist of apprentice boys, barmaids, and maid-servants. The sort of poetry that such an audience would delight in could not be otherwise than coarse and plebeian; and even if a worthy member of the craft essayed a more dignified strain, it of necessity still took its colouring from the scenes of that life to which he was accustomed. Hence we find that the ordinary events of every day take the place of the heroic themes of the preceding era. Courtships, weddings, christenings, and burials, afforded the chief opportunities for the exercise of poetical talent; and as the German artisan is a great traveller and beer-drinker, songs about wandering and conviviality formed another great item among their rhymed effusions. Germany owes to this period the great majority of her Volks-Lieder, or popular songs—a literature more rich and varied than the corresponding productions of any other country, whether new or old. These songs tell in simple and touching language what the poor man in Germany thinks and feels. If they display but little art, they are all the more true to nature. If they have originated among the lower ranks, they have contributed all the more to the delight and happiness of thousands. They mostly refer to parting and meeting, to faithful love and constancy in absence. Some describe scenes of cheerful labour; others dwell on the attractions of wine and beer; others, again, extol the blessings of domestic affection, or the happiness that is diffused by a thrifty and good-tempered German housewife. He must have little music in his soul who is insensible to

the homely beauty of these popular songs, or who, on reading the text of many a German Volks-Liederbuch, can help confessing that poetry, so far from being the monopoly of the well-bred, cheers the humble as often as the rich, and reserves some of its sweetest touches for the poor and hard-working among mankind.*

In addition to these popular songs, whose authors are invariably unknown, although their origin can be traced to this era, there are one or two other kinds of composition in which the artisans excelled. The first class is the so-called *Possen* or *Schwänke*, i. e. merry anecdotes, jokes, or comical scenes, often dramatically arranged, with which the artisan used to beguile his hours of toil. The tricks of the good-for-nothing locksmith's apprentice, who ate so enormously and filed so slowly, that he was obliged to leave, after exchanging his tools for a sausage; the troubles of the lean, crooked-back tailor, who lived in terror of his shrew of a wife, and was thrashed by her with his own shears; the feat of the muscular smith, who, when asked to hammer right hard, struck at one blow through hoof, anvil, and furnace—such were the topics of the *Possen*. But, in the third place, sacred history and religion

* The following popular songs date either from the Middle Ages, or from some very early period of German literature:—*Es steht ein Baum im Odenwald*; *Drei Wochen vor Ostern da geht der Schnee weg*—on inconstancy; *Es stund eine Lind' im tiefen Thal*, on constancy; *So viel Stern' am Himmel stehen*, on love in absence; *Warum bist du denn so traurig*, on parting; *Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath*, on parting for ever; *Kein Feuer, keine Kohle kann brennen so heiß*, on the power of concealed love; *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär', und auch zwei Flüglein hätt*, on longing during absence; *Mädchen, warum weinest du*, on parting; *Mädel, ruf' ruf' an meine grüne Seite*, a huntsman's song; *Als wir jüngst in Regensburg waren*, on the Donau-Strudel as a test of female purity; *Und die Würzburger Glöckl' hab'n ein schön Geläut*, on the fickleness of the girls in Würzburg; *Zu Lauterbach hab' i mei' Strumpf verlor'n*, a Tyrolese traveller's song; *Der liebste Wuhle den ich ha'n, der liegt beim Wirth im Keller*, Fischart's wine-song; and *Kenndchen von Tharau ist's die mir gefällt*, Simon Dach's song on conjugal affection.

contributed each its own share of poetic subjects. In this department the *Fastnachts-Spiele*, or Carnival-plays, and the *Oster-Spiele*, or Easter-plays, are especially remarkable as the first examples of dramatic art. They may in all respects be compared to the corresponding productions in English literature. The events of the Passion, the birth and the temptation of Christ, were represented in scenic action and attire, and the favourite character of the play was the devil. The *Meistersänger* were a very devout race of men; but they used often to mix the sacred and the burlesque in a manner thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Ages, however unpalatable to modern tastes. Many worthy artisans composed sermons and moral discourses, which they read before their families or guildsmen. The greatest *Meistersänger*, Hans Sachs, has left a prodigious number of such sermons, some in prose, others rhymed. They are always on some text of the Bible, and excel by the raciness of their exposition, and the shrewdness of their moral. Still, neither his wisdom nor his poetry can conceal the illiterate character of the author. The writings of Sachs and his predecessors are rather specimens of verse-cobbling or book-manufacture than genuine effusions of poetry. The mechanical spirit of their daily occupation entered largely into their literary handiwork.

Names and Dates of the Principal Meistersänger.—1. Heinrich von Meissen, surnamed *Frauenlob*, or the Praiser of Women, lived from 1250 to 1318, chiefly at Mayence, where, it is said, he founded the first school of his art. He composed many moral and religious poems, some in recommendation of domestic virtues, and to this circumstance he owes his cognomen.

2. Peter Suchenwirt and Heinrich der Teichner were two artisans in Vienna, who composed together innumerable *Schwänke* and moral discourses. Suchenwirt came

frequently into contact with the upper classes, because his trade was to embellish knightly coats-of-arms, and to adorn pedigrees, for which his skill in versification was often put in requisition. He and his friend express no very high opinion of their noble employers; they lived about 1360.

3. Muscatblüt, or, the Flower of Muscat (1415–1439), celebrated among other topics the accession of Albrecht II., in whose person the Habsburgers re-ascended the imperial throne in the year 1437.

4. Hans Rosenblüt, surnamed the Chatterer (or Schnep-perer), 1430–1460, was engaged in the same profession as Suchenwirt, and indulged in a rather coarse and vulgar kind of poetry. His productions are low carnival-plays and not over-decorous drinking songs.

5. Michael Beheim (1416–1474) was a weaver's son, and left his father's loom to become a soldier. He has left some verses, describing battles and historical events of his age.

6. Hans Folz (about 1480) was a barber in Nürnberg, and composed many carnival-plays.

7. **Hans Sachs** (1494–1576) is the most renowned of all the artisan poets. He was a contemporary, as well as a zealous partisan, of Luther. After wandering about a great deal, he settled, in 1515, in his native town, Nürnberg. He was by trade a shoemaker, whence the famous doggerel verse which imitated his style:—

Hans Sachs, der war ein Schuh-
Macher und Poet dazu.

He was a very prolific writer. Not fewer than thirty-four volumes of his works have been printed. Most of his compositions are plays and humorous stories; but there are also popular songs, sermons, allegories, fables, and dialogues. Among the rest is found a poem on Luther,

dating from 1523, describing him as “die Wittenbergische Nachtigall”; and a necrologue of Luther, lamenting the Reformer’s death in 1546.

8. **Sebastian Brandt**, the author of the famous *Narrenschiff*, may be classed with the *Meistersänger* in point of time and style, although his birth and station were more aristocratic than theirs. He was born at Strasburg in 1458, and was syndic of that town, where he died in 1521. He had studied jurisprudence in Basel, and bore the title of Doctor of Laws. The Emperor Maximilian bestowed on him letters of nobility and the title of privy councillor. His book, *The Ship of Fools from Narragonia* (*Narr* means fool) appeared at Basel, 1494, and was often re-edited, as well as translated into foreign languages. In the beginning of his book the author tells us that he selected a ship as the conveyance for his fools, because no other vehicle would have been large enough to hold all who required to be carried off to Narragonia; for on blowing his trumpet for all the simpletons of Germany to come and be transported to the land of their tribe, a motley crowd of madmen come from far and near to hurry on board; there is a perfect rush to cross the gangway; they clamber over the sides of the ship; they push and elbow each other, and struggle to be first on the list. On numbering his passengers, he finds them to be 113—fops, misers, dotards, drunkards, voluptuaries, bigots; each gets his ticket, and is fitted with his cap. To render his satire more excusable, the honest author remembered the captain in his register; he made him a book-fool, and called him Sebastian Brandt. The journey of this crazy assembly is described in short rhymed verse, with but little rhythm and elegance, but all the more point and drollery.

Chronicles of this Age.—Although the poetry of the artisans is the principal feature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were not wanting a few historical

and theological writers, who require a short notice from their great importance in the history of mediæval civilization. The least meritorious of them are those chroniclers who have thrown their communications respecting earlier or contemporaneous events into a rhymed form.

1. One of these is a Swiss, called Halbsuter of Lucerne. He has left a versified account of the battle of Sempach, in which he had taken part. This battle was gained by the Swiss, in 1386, over Leopold, Duke of Austria, who wished to annex several of their cantons to his family possessions.

2. Another is Niklas von Weyl (or Wyle), also a native of Switzerland, but mostly residing in Bavaria and Würtemberg. He employed himself chiefly in German versions of Italian novels, as well as of old Latin chronicles. Very interesting is his account of the Council of Constance in 1416, and of the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague, the disciple of Huss.

3. A very singular production is **Theuerdank**, a partly historical, partly allegorical, chronicle of the end of the fifteenth century. It has for its reputed author no less a personage than the Emperor Maximilian. If genuine, this poem does little credit to the poetic endowments of the Habsburg family. It describes, under fictitious names, how the emperor, or Theuerdank, went to woo the wealthy heiress of Burgundy, Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash, here called the Lady Ehrenreich. Before his arrival at the Burgundian Court he has to encounter three foes—Youthful Giddiness, Lover's Mishap, and the Envy of his Rivals;—but the imperial suitor slays all the three allegorical enemies, and consequently carries off the lady and her dowry. The conception and the verse seldom rise above mediocrity. Some attribute its authorship to the emperor's chaplain and secretary, Pfinzing.

Another allegorical and unfinished chronicle, entitled

Weisskönig, is said to have come from the pen of the same prince; it relates the events of his and his father's reign, and is rhymed, like the preceding.

4. Two prose chronicles, which originated in Strasburg—the one about 1360, the other about 1400—give at least more authentic history. The earlier of the two is the work of Fritsche Closener, a vicar and precentor of the cathedral in that city; it contains a history of Strasburg, and dwells especially on the feuds in which the citizens were then engaged with their bishop. The other is by Jacob Twinger, and was built on Closener's work; it embraces the history of the whole of Alsatia, and relates, among other matters, how the Flagellant friars used then to go about, scourging themselves, and displaying their dreary asceticism, to the disgust of the population.

5. The Limburg chronicle is perhaps the most important of several minor works of a similar description, all referring to local events. It goes down to 1398, and was composed by the town-clerk of Limburg, Johannes by name.

The Mystics.—Towards the end of the Middle Ages a wide-spread party of malcontents existed in the German Church, who wished to reform its abuses, and to revive religion among the people. The writers of this school go usually by the name of *Mystics*, from the alleged obscurity of their style and views. They may be regarded as the direct precursors of the Reformation, and most of them belonged to the Dominican Order, which then acted a very different part from that which it played in Luther's time. The Mystics were eminent preachers, as well as pious theologians. The founder of their school was Eckhart, who lived in Cologne, and died in 1327. Pope John XXII. condemned his doctrines as heretical. A second was Suso, a Cologne friar, somewhat later than Eckhart; but John Tauler, who died in 1361, and Geiler von Kaisersberg, who

died in 1510, are the most distinguished for pulpit eloquence. The latter—who is not directly connected with the school of the Mystics—lived and preached in Strasburg, where he knew the syndic Brandt, and borrowed from his “Ship of Fools” some suggestions for his moral discourses.

CHAPTER VI.

THIRD PERIOD—THE LEARNED ERA (1534–1760).

Character of this Period.—We now come to the age of the Reformation, the age which fixed the present dialect of Germany, and placed literature in the hands of scholars and professors. It has been shown in the three preceding chapters, that whichever of the three estates at any time took the lead in civilization had also the precedence in poetry. Thus the clergy first gave birth to the monastic literature; then the knights, to chivalrous minstrelsy; and, lastly, the third estate, or the burghers, to the artisan poetry. From this it is evident that at the outbreak of the Reformation the cities and their inhabitants were in possession of the literary supremacy. The sixteenth century effected in this respect no absolute change; only, within the third estate, a subdivision had lately arisen, through the foundation of the universities; and it is to this, that is, to the learned portion of the citizens, that the ascendancy was now transferred. The subsequent poets and prose writers are all men with academic degrees—doctors or professors, divines or scholars, physicians or lawyers. Apart from those foci of the national intellect, the universities, authorship is not to be met with; and in these exclusively resides henceforth the activity of the German mind. The first of the insti-

tutions which imparts its new character to the following era was that of Prague, founded, in 1348, by Charles IV. Soon Vienna followed; and then, in rapid succession, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipzig, Würzburg, Rostock, Basel, Tübingen, Mayence, and last, not least, Wittenberg, founded in 1502. Already the first of these, Prague, had shown whither complete freedom of teaching, and total emancipation from clerical and state inspection, was likely to lead these learned bodies. Huss and his disciple Jerome had openly questioned a part of the doctrinal system of the Church. But the Utraquistic* movement had not spread beyond Bohemia and Moravia. Germany had not caught the contagion of the Slavonians in Austria; because in 1409 all the Teutonic students had left Prague for Leipzig, to avoid further collisions between the two nationalities. But the German academies were certainly not behind Prague in either daring or spirit of inquiry. The storm was gathering for a century, until the clouds burst in Wittenberg. Here a learned dispute on some questions of theology broke out in 1517, which assumed the huge proportions of an European question, when Dr. Martin Luther, a professor of Wittenberg University, burnt the papal bulls and the canon law, before the gates of the town, amidst a crowd of students and colleagues. In the two following years the temporary vacancy on the imperial throne, and the Diet of Worms, convoked by the new emperor, Charles V., only aggravated the critical nature of the situation; and ere long throughout the north-western and central portions of Europe, wherever Teutonic or semi-Teutonic nations dwelt, the Reformation was hailed with one burst of applause. The progress of this movement concerns us here less than its effects on literature.

* So called because the Hussites asserted the right of the laity to take the sacrament in both kinds.

The consequences by which the Reformation was attended proved most disastrous to Germany, which had to pay very dearly for the honour of having inaugurated this great moral cause. She became the battle-field of Protestantism. Her soil was overrun by foreign invaders, her sons split up in one larger, and one smaller camp; her prosperity was trodden under foot, her population reduced to less than one-half of what it had been. At the end of a war, unparalleled in the history of mankind, either in length or in atrocity, Germany found herself in possession of religious liberty, indeed, because the game was drawn after all, but with her towns and universities well nigh deserted, and with education brought down to the level of the barbarous ages.

The circumstances just related not merely impeded, but utterly frustrated, the literary efforts of Germany. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the historian of this era to report on an age barren in ideas, broken in spirit, sterile in productions, and gazing abroad for models as encouragements to composition. The glorious example set by Luther, in both poetry and prose, was not followed up. The few succeeding authors showed neither his genius nor his patriotism; the majority totally disregarded the language of the people, and employed Latin as the medium of their erudite communications. Men such as Pufendorf the jurist, and Leibnitz the philosopher, wrote in Latin, or else in French, rather than in German. The silence of this period is interrupted only by the sneers of Fischart, and the hymn-poetry of the Lutheran divines; for in her agony Germany seemed, more than at other times, disposed to pray. Besides these, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scarcely exhibit a single publication of any importance. Towards the end of the latter century, however, some faint glimmerings of an approaching dawn become visible, when four schools of criticism proclaim new rules

of taste. Germany then slowly recovers from the long exhaustion to which the religious wars had doomed her. Perceiving that meanwhile England and France have amassed literary treasures far surpassing her own, she hesitates for a moment in the choice of her models. Opitz, and subsequently Gottsched, recommend the French school, while Bodmer and his followers victoriously point to England as a more genial ally for German authors. At length Germany takes her choice, and becomes herself again, when the classical era dawns in 1760.

Influence of Luther.—To few men has it been given to influence so powerfully the moral condition of their countrymen, as Luther has influenced that of his compatriots. In him Germany recognises not only the founder of her Protestantism, but also the father of her literature and her language. It was Luther who determined the modern Hoch-Deutsch, which is a compound of the official (Austrian) *Kanzlei-* or *Schrift-Sprache* of the Empire, with the provincial High-German of Upper Saxony. This he achieved by translating the Old and New Testament, which work he began in the Castle of Wartburg, in 1521, but completed only in the year 1534. As the sacred volume according to Luther's version was more commonly read all over the land than any other printed book, it had the effect of popularizing Luther's German, which henceforth superseded every other form of speech existing at the time; but Luther distinguished himself also as a preacher, as a theological pamphleteer, and as a hymn-writer. Among his controversial productions, his tract on "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," and among his discourses his Addresses to the Christian Nobles of Germany, attained an extraordinary degree of celebrity. Of his hymns none has been more frequently repeated than the so-called Reformation Hymn, of which Luther composed both text and music. It is



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difficult to say which deserves the highest admiration, the words or the melody. It begins with the line—*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*; and its principal excellence consists in the powerful expression which it gives to the Christian's unshaken confidence in the aid of Providence. Its sublime language sounds like an epilogue on the Reformer's life. We think, on reading it, we see him walking through the streets of Worms, or hear him defying Emperor and Pope, while taking his stand on the goodness of his cause. It is, indeed, a trait of character quite as much as a hymn.

Sacred Poetry.—The labours of the great Reformer were not seconded by others, so that the impulse which he gave to both poetry and prose died away in the political discouragement of his partisans. Neither the pamphlets of the brave knight whom we shall mention shortly, nor the hymns of Luther's friends, could produce anything even distinctly comparable to the effect of his own performances. After Luther, literature simply stands still. We have to go to the end of the Thirty Years' War, about 1648, to meet again some really noteworthy hymn-writers. Those choral odes which have been sung in the Protestant churches of Germany for the last two hundred years owe their origin almost entirely to the period of the religious struggle, or else to the generation immediately following it. At that time, we may suppose, the devotional feelings of the population were excited to a more than usual degree, and to this circumstance alone we must attribute the fact that between 1600 and 1700 so little was written or versified, except what bore directly on religion. Among the hymns of this age there are some most sublime and most finished compositions. None excel in beauty those of the pious Paul Gerhard.

1. Simon Dach (1605–1659) was born at Memel, in East Prussia, and became a Professor at the University of Königsberg. Frederick William, the Great Elector,

presented Dach with an estate, in token of his great esteem for his merits. Besides composing a number of Protestant hymns, Dach encouraged younger members of his University to essay moral and religious poetry. The disciples whom he thus collected around himself are sometimes dignified by the title of the Königsberg School. They adopted views and practices resembling in all respects those of Opitz, from whom his contemporary, Dach, borrowed most of his precepts on composition.

2. Paul Flemming (1609–1640) was a Saxon by birth, and educated at Leipzig, where he obtained the diploma of M.D. The events of the war compelled him to fly to Holstein, where the reigning duke took him into his service, and sent him abroad on foreign embassies, first to Russia, then to Persia. During these travels Flemming found consolation in composing sacred hymns, some of them of great merit, and mostly adhering, like those of Dach, to the rules of the critic, Opitz. Flemming died in Hamburg at an early age, having but lately returned from the far East.

3. Paul Gerhard (1607–1676) is, without any doubt, the greatest hymn-writer whom Germany has produced. He was a Saxon by birth, and a man of exemplary piety and integrity. He went to Brandenburg, and obtained a living with an extensive parish in Berlin. Unfortunately the disputes of the Calvinistic and Lutheran parties divided his co-religionists into two hostile sections; and as the Great Elector, by an edict, proscribed Lutheranism, and enforced Calvinism amongst his clergy, Paul Gerhard resigned his living, and quitted the electoral dominions for his native Saxony, where he died as pastor of the village of Lübben. Few men whose lot it has been to direct the devotions of their fellow-men have thrown into their labours greater earnestness and dignity of feeling than this Lutheran pastor. He has created for himself

a lasting memorial in some of the best hymns of the Protestant Church in Germany. Among the chants which he has left we will mention the first lines of but three:—Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe; Nun ruhen alle Wälder; and Befiehl du deine Wege. His manner is collected, and yet cheerful; plaintive, and yet never desponding; simple, above all, and truly childlike. He has none of Luther's impatient vehemence; but he surpasses him in imagination, as well as in brevity of diction.

4. Friedrich Spee (1591–1635) was one of the few Roman Catholics who essayed religious or semi-religious poetry. In general we may observe that the Catholic portions of Germany have contributed much less to literature than the Protestant. This fact cannot entirely be owing to the numerical superiority of the Protestants, which is not decided enough to explain the literary monopoly which they have been allowed to establish. The phenomenon must be chiefly attributed to the fact that education and general culture remained at a lower ebb in the Catholic districts than they were among the Reformed. F. Spee is, however, one of the few exceptions to the rule. His sacred poetry had not the practical significance of the Protestant hymns, which were one and all composed for the use of the communities within which they had arisen, and served to guide their devotions. On the contrary, Spee's performance, *Trutz-Nachtigall*, shows by its title, as well as by its contents, that it was the offspring of poetical dilettantism. The name implies that its author wished to vie with the nightingale in the sweetness of his tones. It owes its religious character merely to the circumstance that the poet belonged to a monastic order, namely, that of the Jesuits, and therefore interspersed his descriptions of nature and his touches of pastoral life with a variety of religious reflections. The latter often exhibit

the restless longing of the monk, who laments his seclusion from society and nature, and hence there is in them a peculiar admixture of sadness and dissatisfaction. Spee was a truly humane representative of his order. He lived on the Rhine, and used to act as a father confessor to condemned criminals. It was one of his merits to have denounced in open and manly terms the abominable practice of burning women on the charge of witchcraft. He said his hair had grown gray with grief, as he had seen so many unfortunate women making with him their last journey to the stake, and then suffering innocently; for he felt sure that not one of them had ever committed the crimes imputed to her.

5. We will conclude the list of hymn-writers with Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664), a native of Glogau, in Silesia, and a friend of Opitz, founder of the first Silesian School. He travelled much, and graduated at Leyden, in Holland. But returning at length to Glogau, he became a magistrate there, and wrote numerous sacred pieces, as well as some dramas, odes, and epigrams, all of which are now totally forgotten.

With Gryphius hymn-poetry began to decay; though Hagedorn and Gellert in the next century tried to revive the sacred ode, they could not find again the earnest and sublime tone which had distinguished a Flemming and a Gerhard.

Satires, Fables, and Moral Stories. — Besides sacred poetry, there are no very noteworthy writings which have come down to us from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As already stated, this barrenness of the era under discussion is due to the dismal state of politics on one hand, and to the prevalent use of Latin on the other. The University-men, into whose hands literature had fallen, would not condescend to use the vernacular dialect. They handled every public question

in a learned manner, and learning could not speak otherwise than in Latin. Except in cases where a pastor was preaching, praying, or chanting before his congregation, there was no occasion for the *litterati* of the age to hold any intercourse with the masses of the unlearned. Not more than two or three descriptions of popular writings were exempt from the scholastic disguise—pamphlets, fables, satires, and popular stories. These required to be told in the vulgar language, to make them intelligible to the people for whom they were intended. Still we may wonder that the conception of even such writings should have arisen in the heads of the doctors and pastors who composed them. These authors themselves were fully aware of this anomaly. They apologized duly in their prefaces for the infraction of the rules of their order, and begged to excuse the plebeian dialect in which they had chosen to descant on a plebeian theme. Some, however, went considerably further. They ridiculed or else lamented the exotic erudition and artificial book-learning that weighed down the language of the people, and sighed for the day when Germans would again dare to write in German, and throw off the unworthy yoke which the scholasticism of an earlier age had imposed on the education and literature of their nation. This latter feeling, however, could not gain strength before the middle of the eighteenth century, when the great critical writers had paved the way for an independent and national style of writing; and it becomes our first duty to notice those few and isolated attempts at secular poetry and satirical prose which intervened before that period.

1. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), a brave but unfortunate Franconian knight, deserves mention as an eminent pamphleteer of the Reformation age. He had studied the classical languages at Fulda, Cologne, and Frankfurt on the Oder, and had at an early age joined the party of Reuchlin,

Agricola, and Erasmus of Rotterdam. Hutten was one of the principal authors of the famous party manifesto, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, which defended the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, against the bigoted denunciations of Hoogstraten and other Cologne zealots. On the termination of his academic life Hutten served under the Emperor Maximilian, during his campaign in Italy, in the year 1509; but returned, like most of his brethren in arms, owing to the outbreak of a disease which ravaged the German camp. He subsequently took an active part with Sickingen and Götze in opposing a noble brigand, Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, who had revived the old predatory practices of mediæval knighthood. When the Reformation broke out, Hutten openly and unreservedly declared himself its advocate. In defence of the cause of Luther he composed several pamphlets in German, the principal of which was his *Klagrede*, or *Complaint*, against papal power in Germany. The daring displayed in these publications, and also in his speeches, drew upon him the resentment of the ecclesiastical party. Hutten was compelled to fly, and concealed himself at first with his friend Sickingen, on whose subsequent death he sought refuge in Switzerland. Here he stayed some time, on the island in the Lake of Zürich, where he was not further molested by his persecutors. But shortly after, in 1523, he breathed his last, while still in the prime of manhood. His death was mourned by the whole Protestant party. Few men have stood up more perseveringly for religious freedom than this noble knight, whose character and life have attracted the admiration of succeeding generations. His best biographer was David Strauss (1858).

2. J. F. Fischart (born about 1540), of Mayence, a wit and satirist, continued the Lutheran controversy against the papal party. He was a lawyer by profession; and having resided temporarily at Strasburg, Speyer, and

Frankfort, became at last burgomaster in Forbach. His principal work is a German imitation of Rabelais' life of Gargantua and his son Pantagruel, the whimsical princes of Chinon. The work of Rabelais had been published in France about 1535; that of Fischart appeared in 1582. Even the original contains reflections on the depraved state of the Church and the monastic orders; but in the paraphrase of Fischart these received a tinge of increased acrimony. Fischart also became the author of a humorous poem entitled *Flohatz*, or the Chase of the Fleas, a satirical allegory in which a flea complains before Jupiter of the tyranny he has to endure at the hands of the feminine portion of the human species. A third story of Fischart's was his *Lucky Ship*, which narrated an incident of the year 1576, when a party of Zürich riflemen brought in one day their boat from the Limmat into the Aar, and down the Rhine to a Strasburg rifle-match, and made such excellent use of the oar and sail as to deliver some broth which they had taken with them, still hot, to their friends in the latter city. There are many other pamphlets of Fischart levelled at his clerical adversaries, and animated by a strong Protestant spirit.

3. T. Murner (1475-1537), a Franciscan friar of Strasburg, and Doctor of Divinity at Bâle, Bern, and Heidelberg, is the most eminent satirist and pamphleteer on the Catholic side. He wrote against the Wittenberg reformers the famous satire "On the great Lutheran Fad, conjured up by Dr. Martin Luther" (1522). For his similar attacks on Zwingli he was expelled from Switzerland in 1529. King Henry VIII. so admired him as to ask him over to England on a short visit. In power and ardour of theological controversy he decidedly carried off the palm.

4. G. Rollenhagen (1542-1609) is a fabulist of the sixteenth century. He was head-master of a school in

Magdeburg, and paraphrased in Frosch-Mäuseler, the *Batracho-myo-machia* of Homer. His mice and frogs are intelligent creatures. They discourse on Church and State, Luther and the Pope, St. Paul and St. Peter. At length they pass on from controversy to blows; and the larger or smaller number of bloody noses decides the strength or weakness of their theological arguments. The author parodied the Germans of his time very felicitously in this satire.

5. Two popular stories here claim our attention, which were probably current at a much earlier period, but first committed to writing at this time. These are the stories of Eulenspiegel and of Faust. What the term Eulenspiegel meant, or the name of Till, usually coupled with it, is not quite certain. In the editions of his story an owl (*Eule*) sitting before a mirror (*Spiegel*) is usually depicted on the title-page; but this is evidently an invention subsequent to the name itself. The other name, Till, belonged to an individual who is said to have lived about 1350. His tomb is shown at Möllen, in Mecklenburg, where a tree grew over his grave, and where since his time every artisan who passes by is expected to strike a nail into the aforesaid tree. The name Eulenspiegel is intimately connected with the notion of roguery, as appears from the fact that this appellative is commonly applied in Germany as an equivalent for a trickster. The French have borrowed the same term, it would appear; for we are probably not mistaken in considering this as the derivation of *espiègle*. The anonymous books referring to this worthy confirm this idea. They date from time immemorial, and arose probably in the Middle Ages. Their subject is the sage speeches, the practical jokes, the experiences, and the pranks of a travelling journeyman. It is a collection of *Possen* or *Schwänke*, such as we described on page 63, in speaking of the *Meistersänger*.

The legend of Dr. Faustus was first printed about 1587 : how and when it arose is not certain. The hero of this story is an alchemist, or a learned friar, called Faust. A person of that name actually lived at Kundlingen, in Swabia, and in Luther's time at Wittenberg in Saxony, where he died about 1560 ; he had the reputation of being a magician, and it was said he kept company with the devil, who visited him in the external shape of a black poodle dog. Thus they appeared once to a number of Leipzig students, whose grapes they turned into wine, and whose orgies they diversified on that occasion by other specimens of supernatural art. We need scarcely remind the reader that the English tragedian Marlowe was the first to dramatize this story from a version which had been printed in London, and that recently Goethe appropriated the same tale.

6. J. M. Moscherosch (1601–1669) was a Hessian, whose ancestors had sprung from Spanish settlers, whence also his Spanish name ; he studied law, and became burgo-master in Krichingen. The book which entitles him to a place in literature is his collection of satires, partly rhymed, partly in prose, under the fictitious name of Philander von Sittenwald. They were written during the Thirty Years' War, and give us an insight into the state of society then prevailing. Moscherosch directed his satire especially against the pedantry of the upper classes, and the mock wisdom which spurned the language of the people, to write and speak nothing but Latin, or even French. He does not think the whip too hard a means of chastising the academic jackanapes who held possession of the universities of his day.

7. *Simplicissimus* is the name of a prose novel which appeared in 1669, and describes scenes of the great war, which had then long concluded. The author was formerly unknown, until lately his name was discovered to be

Grimmelshausen. He has told the story of his life in an interesting and witty manner, though its principal interest is the light it throws on the history of that fearful age. The hero is the son of a peasant in Spessart Forest, but is dragged from his retreat by the Swedes, who break in upon that lonely spot, to be succeeded by other swarms of plunderers, more brutal and violent than the first. For a time he finds a refuge with a hermit, who educates him; but soon he is carried off thence again, and compelled to do military service. By cunning and cleverness he is enabled to make a rich marriage, and to push his fortunes in the midst of the universal storm. But soon a reverse blasts his prosperity. His marriage turns out badly; his money is taken from him; disease and despair bring him to the verge of death, and at last he finds himself a prisoner of war among the Swedes again. After many more adventures he becomes a hermit, and lives to see the war end, when a more peaceful generation allows him to ponder in solitude over the frightful scenes of the past.

Critical Writers—Four Schools of Poetic Art.—

The resuscitation of German poetry, after the storms of the religious wars, was to a great extent due to the exertions of several critical writers, who made it their object to come with their contemporaries to some agreement on the form as well as on the spirit of poetic composition. As they had each their adherents, either in or near their birth-place, they are usually counted as so many founders of Schools. Thus the first Silesian School originated in Liegnitz, a town of Silesia, under the auspices of Opitz, about 1625. The second Silesian School arose in Breslau, the capital of the same province, about the year 1660; its heads were Hoffmannswaldau and Lohenstein. The third was the Saxon School of Gottsched, in Leipzig, who flourished about 1730. And the last was the Zürich or the Swiss School of Bodmer, about 1740. We may in general

observe that the third resembled in tendency the first, as the fourth resembled the second.

1. **Martin Opitz** (1597–1639) proposed to do for the literature of Germany the same thing which Malherbe had just then done for that of France—namely, to fix the metrical form of poetry, and to restrict it to the imitation of the antique in its matter. He was a Silesian by birth, and resided principally at Liegnitz. Here he connected himself with several German noblemen, and attained the character of a *bel esprit* and a critic. Towards the end of his life he was induced to go to Poland, as a sovereign of that kingdom had offered him the post of private secretary. Shortly after he was infected with the plague by an unfortunate beggar, to whom he had given alms, and died in consequence. In the earlier part of his life Opitz had published a Latin treatise: “Aristarchus, seu de contemptu linguæ Teutonicæ,” and, in 1624, a German Essay, “Von der Deutschen Poeterey,” in which he proposed new and better principles of versification than those hitherto in vogue. The earlier poets had been no scholars, and had but loose notions on rhyme and metre. Doggrel verse, faulty rhymes, and want of rhythm had disfigured their productions; and the Meistersänger especially, notwithstanding the injunctions of their “Tabulatur,” had carried their carelessness to a shocking degree of poetic license. To these irregularities in the composition of verse Opitz endeavoured to put an end, by applying to German some of the metrical principles of Scaliger and Vida, two earlier writers on classical metres. Among other points, Opitz clearly enunciated the law of poetic rhythm in German. It differs from Latin and Greek rhythm, because German permits no definite test of syllabic quantity, and does but insufficiently distinguish between long and short vowels. Accent supplies in German poetry the want of quantity. Opitz, therefore,

laid down the principle that every accented or radical syllable should be equivalent to a long one, and that every unaccented or flexionable syllable should be considered short. He consequently insisted on a more regular change of accented and unaccented syllables, and forbade putting an iambus in a trochaic rhythm, or a dactyl in an apæstic one. In short he proscribed any infraction of the metrical harmony of verse. In addition to his rules on versification, Opitz also enjoined greater discrimination in the choice of expressions and subjects. He laid down that poetry before all should instruct, and that its pleasurable design should be subordinate to its moral purpose. Sentiment and imagination he would not banish altogether; but he bade his countrymen take care that these should never get the mastery over good sense and sober reason. Finally, he advised his friends to imitate the classical authors of Greece and Rome, and among modern verse writers the French, with their Alexandrine metre. This latter verse was a favourite with Opitz, and, to add example to rule, he wrote a Lutheran Church hymn in Alexandrines. Others of his poems, such as that on the God of War, and that on Mount Vesuvius, are in shorter iambic verse. He also translated the "Antigone" of Sophocles, and some Italian dramas (the French tragedians only came after his time); and in all these writings he observed the same care and strictness which he enforced by his precepts. The innovations of Opitz were endorsed by the majority of his contemporaries. The Protestant hymn writers, both those of Saxony and those of Königsberg, applauded his maxims, and a literary society, calling itself "Palmen-Orden," or "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," arose in 1617, at Weimar, which helped to spread his views.

2. As, however, the sober critic spoken of sometimes exaggerated his principles, another school of Silesian critics, called the second Silesians, started views directly oppo-

site to those of Opitz. Hoffmann of Hoffmannswaldau, a native of Breslau (1618–1679), and Lohenstein (1635–1683), also of Breslau, disputed not so much the metrical reforms of Opitz as his proscription of imagination, and his eulogies on prosaic and common-place poetry. They might have done some good had they gone no further; but, unfortunately, these opposition critics made some wretched attempts at fanciful and sentimental poetry according to their own taste. Being all men of mediocre abilities, they adopted a course of stringing a great many epithets and metaphors together in their verses, and passing them off for better poetry. Their pathos became perfectly bombastic, their fanciful descriptions tedious, and their epigrammatic mannerism utterly ridiculous. In Nürnberg, on the Pegnitz, a School of pastoral poets, often called the Shepherds of the Pegnitz, adopted a very similar style; but their descriptions of Arcadian life soon fell into the same contempt as the other writings of the second Silesian School.

3. Under such circumstances it cannot surprise us to find, in the next century, **J. G. Gottsched** (1700–1766), a native of East Prussia, and Professor of Eloquence in Leipzig, reviving the principles of Opitz, and founding the Saxon School, which is only a more recent edition of the first Silesian. Gottsched's principal treatise is his "Kritische Dichtkunst," or Critical Art of Poetry, published in 1729. He also edited a periodical in Leipzig, which reviewed home and foreign literature according to his views. He first applied the new rules of taste to a novel department, which Opitz had but slightly touched on, namely, the German stage. Gottsched induced the theatres of Leipzig and other towns to suppress the low buffoonery which had been in possession of the boards since the times of Hans Sachs. He expelled the "Hanswurst," or the German harlequin. In lieu thereof he proposed to exhibit

the stern tragic Muse, in the manner of Racine. At that time the French poets had attracted universal attention in Europe; and as French manners and the French language had generally become such favourites in better society, Gottsched acknowledged the indubitable superiority which France then possessed, by advising his countrymen to abide by the principles of Boileau, which were also those of Horace. With this view he translated Corneille and Racine into German, and composed a tragedy in the pseudo-classical, or the French style, on the death of Cato. Addison's drama, which is but another specimen of the same tendency in dramatic poetry, was Gottsched's model; and it must be admitted that he has all the frigidity of his English original, without any of his invention. The subject itself disqualified his drama for success, as a reasoning philosopher can never be a fit hero for a tragedy. The earlier English dramatists were at that time but little appreciated in either Germany or England, and it remained for the age of a Lessing and a Schlegel to do more justice to the genius of Shakespeare.

4. A Zürich Professor, Bodmer, was the first to oppose Gottsched, in 1740. He headed the Swiss School of criticism. What offended him and his friends, Breiting and von Haller, was the amount of dry rule, and the exclusive appeal to the understanding in matters of art. He pleaded once more for the imagination, as the true soul of poetry; he moreover held up the ancient Minnesänger, and among moderns, Milton, as far better models of composition than the French. The literary war which now broke out between him and Gottsched lasted nearly twenty years, and assumed occasionally a bitter aspect in most of the German journals of the time. It ended in the defeat and unpopularity of Gottsched. One main reason why the latter lost his prestige as a critic was the excessive insolence

with which he criticized the labours of junior men, such as Klopstock and Wieland, while Bodmer knew how to enlist on his side all the rising talent of Germany. The latter edited the *Nibelungenlied*, and translated "Paradise Lost." When Bodmer died, in 1783, he had the satisfaction of seeing his principles of taste universally accepted.

Disciples of Gottsched.—Before we take leave of this period we have to notice a few stray writers, most of them disciples of Gottsched, who preceded the dawn of the classical era. The greatest critic of the eighteenth century had assembled around himself, in Leipzig, a large number of followers, who zealously spread his critical views. Some of these joined, in 1742, with several North-Germans, in editing a magazine at Leipzig and Bremen, called "*Bremische Beiträge*," which for a time became a leading journal in Germany. The most remarkable among its collaborators were Klopstock and Gellert. Their president was called Gärtner; others, such as E. Schlegel, and F. A. Schlegel, father of the two Schlegels in the next era, Giseke, Ebert, Gleim, and Rabener, were no contemptible contributors. Rabener was a satirist; Gleim, a resident of Halle, with his friend Uz, imitated Anacreon; Gleim also wrote "*Preussenlieder*"—songs of the soldiers of Frederick the Great; the others wrote lyrics of one kind or another. Hagedorn (1708–1754), of Hamburg, was perhaps the most successful in this species of poetry. C. F. Gellert (1715–1769) deserves especial mention, as the principal modern fabulist of Germany. He was the son of a clergyman, and became, like Gottsched, a professor at Leipzig, where he rendered himself universally liked and respected by his gentle, unassuming manner, and by his unblemished integrity. His style as a fabulist resembles rather that of Gay than that of

Lafontaine; it is clear and simple almost to excess. He has not the wit and drollery of the French poet; he preserves less felicitously the poetic illusion which disguises the moral of the fable under the garb of the actions of animals; still, he will be read with pleasure by all who appreciate lucid and easy German: in his sacred poetry also Gellert displays the same contemplative wisdom, and the same absence of poetic inspiration, which characterize his fables. Since Gellert's time an author of the name of Lichtwer (1719-1783), and more recently Pfeffel (1736-1809), have written fables. These, along with Lessing and Goethe, who have also contributed to this sort of composition, complete the list of the modern fabulists of Germany.

CHAPTER VII.

FOURTH PERIOD—THE CLASSICAL ERA (1760-1805).

Character of this Period.—As the causes which bring the literature of a country to full maturity admit only to a certain extent of elucidation, it would be impossible to adduce convincing proofs that that of Germany could not have attained its culminating point some two or three hundred years earlier than it actually did. We can, nevertheless, point to several circumstances which prepared the dawn of the classical era, and corresponded to the conditions which have usually either preceded or accompanied similar epochs in other countries. First of all, the language had now been fixed, and the most general laws of both poetic and prose composition were either then or

shortly after agreed upon. Besides, after 1763, comparative peace and prosperity reigned in the land, the wounds inflicted by the religious wars having gradually healed. Moreover, education was in a flourishing state, and intelligence became at once more enlightened and more patriotic than before. In addition to these causes, a certain amount of lustre was at that time shed on the North Germans, by the rise of the Prussian monarchy and the victories of Frederick the Great. Finally, towards the end of the classical period princely patronage was extended to literary genius, and contributed both to elicit and to encourage its efforts, although at the same time we must confess that this patronage not only came far later than it ought to have done, but also was totally withheld by those very courts whose natural duty it would have been to afford their support.

The brightest period of German literature was not ushered in by any political revulsion, nor by any great social change, similar to those mentioned in the previous periods, and such as we shall mention again in the next. After the Seven Years' War there was a lull, and a comparative calm, in the affairs of Germany. Hence the classical era introduced no radical change in the spirit of composition; neither did it start a new class of literati. It was still the same portion of society from which the authors all sprang—namely, the middle classes; and the leadership in all matters of taste still belonged to the old universities and their alumni. The only important change was the gradual abandonment of the erudite air of the preceding era. The tendency to learned display disappeared from the language and from the books. Neither the imitation of the antique nor that of foreign and modern authors was continued with the same slavish inferiority as heretofore. This salutary change was entirely due to the judgment of the university professors themselves.

Already about 1745, Wolff, the disciple of Leibnitz, had set in Halle the first example of discarding Latin from manuals and lectures. Since then German gradually became the routine language of academic teaching. Subsequently three great writers—Lessing, Klopstock, and Wieland—did a great deal to restore the national dialect to its due rank: they first showed by tangible specimens the possibility of creating a German epic, a German drama, and German novels. But the most decisive movement for emancipating the national mind from every species of artificial prescription occurred in the earlier part of the following decade, or between 1770 and 1780. At that time the antipathy to learned composition, and the enthusiasm for “untrammelled genius,” *i. e.* for free poetic inspiration, ran higher than at any period before or since; it went almost to excess. One Klinger published, in 1776, a drama, which bore the significant but high-sounding title “Sturm und Drang,” or, Storm and Pressure. What he exactly meant it was neither then, nor is it now, very easy to tell. But his probable intention in choosing that title was to hint that Parnassus was about to be stormed by men of original genius, such as the author; and that a crowd of similarly disposed invaders was ready to join him in the work of dispossessing savants and pedants of their superannuated occupancy of the mount of the Muses.* The book which thus contested with the learned their lease of the literary domain was as extraordinary within as without. In a succession of wild and incoherent scenes, and in language remarkable for abruptness, bold imagery, and Ossianic paroxysms of extravagance, it described the deadly feuds of two Scottish clans, and their subsequent and no less wonderful reconciliation by means of intermarriage. This singular production took the Ger-

* The figure in “Sturm und Drang” is taken from a siege, and Drang is the *pressure* exercised on the defenders by their assailants.

man public by surprise, and the name of "Stürmer und Dränger" became a by-word for the whole school of regenerators of poetry, or those who either supported or were supposed to support the movement of Klinger. His crazy drama, indeed, soon fell into oblivion; its only merit is to have suggested a party-name; but many sober and patriotic men now opened their eyes to the just and rational design of the movement. Too long had book-learning and critical rules barred up the spontaneous effusions of native genius, and too long had the universities inculcated the imitation of Latin and Greek, or else that of French and English authors, while they never deigned to cultivate that kind of composition which draws its inspiration from within, and clothes natural feeling and poetic fancy in just such words as first suggest themselves. One of the first who eloquently pleaded for such a change was Herder; but two younger men, then just coming into eminence, caught the general enthusiasm. The first drama of Goethe, "Götz von Berlichingen," as well as the juvenile production of Schiller, "The Robbers," belongs to the period of "Sturm und Drang." The principles of the party were eagerly advocated in the "Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen," a journal edited by Merck, and counting among its contributors Goethe, Herder, and a large circle of their friends.* Of all the universities, that of Göttingen,

* Among the less prominent adherents of the Sturm-und-Drang party we may mention:—1. Schubart, the author of the "Ewige Jude" and other poems. He was imprisoned in 1777 on the Hohenasperg fort, by Karl Eugene, Duke of Würtemberg, who decoyed him across the frontier of his duchy, and detained him for ten years. 2. Leisewitz, of Hanover, author of the tragedy "Julius von Tarent"; he is sometimes reckoned amongst the members of the Hainbund. 3. W. Heinse, of Düsseldorf, author of "Ardinghella, or the Happy Isles," a novel. 4. Lenz, a Livonian, resident in Strasburg, and a friend of Goethe between 1770 and 1776, author of "Die Soldaten." His visit to the Weimar court in 1776 ended in mutual disappointment, and he died a lunatic in Moscow.

which had but lately been founded, threw itself most eagerly into the movement. Here a society was formed, about 1772, called the Göttingen "Dichterbund," or Poets' Club, which made it its professed object to regenerate German poetry, by substituting the popular for the erudite style of writing: their members, as well as their performances, will be traced further down.

While the universities thus swarmed with literary reformers, those classes of society which lay beyond the academic pale remained apathetic. Neither the Austrian nor the Prussian, nor any of the minor princely houses, seemed to care the least about the progress of the fine arts among their subjects. Most surprising was the attitude taken by Frederick the Great. This king, who had done more than anybody to raise the prestige of Germany in diplomacy and on the field of battle, was at the same time a stubborn despiser of German poetry. He looked on the exertions of his countrymen for raising themselves to the character of a literary people with the greatest indifference, and even with contempt. When the first editor of the *Nibelungen* ventured to send him a copy, Frederick sent it back with this answer—"You think far too highly of these things. In my opinion, they are not worth a charge of powder. I could not tolerate such a book in my library, and should simply treat it as rubbish." While he thus neglected and spurned German poets, the conqueror of Rosbach and Zorndorf was speaking and writing French with Voltaire in his residence at Potsdam. It is impossible to view Frederick's conduct in this respect otherwise than as a painful dereliction of his duties as a sovereign; and his fault becomes all the more inexcusable, when we remember that a foreign potentate, the King of Denmark, gave, at that time, a pension to Klopstock. Hence Schiller lamented, in 1800, fourteen years after Frederick's death, that the German Muse

had to "turn away from his throne all unheeded and scorned."*

But the time was at hand when a better fate should reward merit, even in Deutschland. The reigning family of Saxe-Weimar set a nobler example than Prussia, when, after 1775, the capital of this Grand Duchy became the centre and rendezvous of literary excellence. Four great writers are especially associated with the Court of Karl August: Wieland, who educated him and his brother; Goethe, who was his friend, his travelling companion, and his privy councillor; Herder, who acted as his court chaplain; and Schiller, who spent in Weimar the last six years of his life, and received a pension from the same patron, who, on his death, was entombed between Schiller and Goethe, the two master-minds that adorned his reign. We close this period with the death of Schiller, because the French invasion of the year 1806, and generally the effects of the French Revolution, then first felt all over Germany, ushered in another era—the revolutionary period. The writings of Goethe extend, it is true, much beyond the limits of the classical era; but his better works

* The lines referred to in the text are the first two stanzas of Schiller's poem, "Die Deutsche Muse," written in 1800:—

„Kein Augustisch Alter blühte,
Keines Medicäer's Güte
Lächelte der deutschen Kunst.
Sie ward nicht gepflegt vom Ruhme,
Sie entfaltete die Blume
Nicht am Strahl der Fürstengunst.“

„Von dem größten deutschen Sohne,
Von des großen Friedrich's Throne,
Ging sie schutzlos, ungeehrt.
Rühmend darf's der Deutsche sagen,
Höher darf das Herz ihm schlagen,
Selbst erschuf er sich den Werth.“

were all written before 1800, which may be considered as the zenith of German literature.

The German Drama.—The most important literary phenomenon of the classical era is the rise of the German drama, on which it will be necessary here to enter into a brief disquisition, for the purpose of elucidating its distinctive features, especially as compared with the English and French styles which preceded and influenced it. Since the invention of the scenic art by the Greeks, men's ideas on tragedy and comedy have undergone many changes; and therefore it was not likely, even had it been desirable, that the German poets should bind themselves scrupulously by the precedents of others, in their views and usages, both in regard to the design and the execution of their dramas. The German conception of tragic poetry is neither the same as the French, nor as the English, although its greater similarity to the latter is undeniable. We will endeavour briefly to point out the differences.

The French style may be characterized as the *gallant* and *pseudo-classical*. In France the stage usually borrowed its personages from antiquity; but it represented the ancients shorn of their manners and their religion, and draped them, so to speak, not in antique costumes, but in the chivalrous fashions and gallantry of the court of Louis XIV. “Le théâtre Français,” says Victor Hugo, “a forcé les personnages des jours passés à s'enluminer de notre fard, à se frotter de nos vernis.”

French tragedy also observed the rules of the three unities, insisting that all the tragic incidents should happen in the space of one day, and within the circuit of one town, and as the direct causes or consequences of the same event. Thus it allowed, in the construction of its *dénouement*, but little scope for dramatic invention, since this rule tended to exclude many episodes, or subordinate

collateral events, from the range of scenic representation. The artificial stiffness of the whole performance was still increased by the employment of the rhymed Alexandrine verse, in which the most homely dialogue was to be rendered in poetry, as much as the most elevated discourse.

Far more free was the tone adopted by the English stage. The Shakesperian drama, though long unknown to the rest of Europe, and at one time little appreciated even in England, was prior even in date to the French. It totally differed from it in its style, which we will describe as the *Historico-moral*. Selecting its subjects either from English history, or from the tales of Boccaccio, or from antiquity, it took better care than the French to leave to its characters the historical features of their time and nationality. All the actions and manners ascribed to the heroes of the tragedy were so calculated as to carry the theatrical illusion to the highest pitch possible. The most complete resemblance of the actor's part to the character whom he professed to represent was justly considered in England as the life and soul of the scenic art; while in many other respects, especially in the local and temporal circumstances of the drama, great allowances were made to the poet, and the events of years and distant localities were often compressed within the space of one play, the acting of which could not last more than three hours. But the nature of the subjects in Shakespeare's pieces requires a closer attention. The English poet has drawn a great variety of human characters; but the principal part in his plays is always allotted to a person actuated by a selfish and purely private passion. The motives which prompt his heroes are unalloyed with sympathy for kin and fellow-men. Shakespeare is the dramatist of the relations of one individual to another; he is not the tragedian of the relations between man and society. That class of passions which

is elicited by our zeal for a public cause which we espouse remains unrepresented in the English drama. Shall Macbeth be king, or Duncan? Shall Shylock be the loser, or Bassanio? Shall Othello possess the fair Desdemona, or his fancied rival? This is the main question, but not the rights or grievances of vassals, blacks, or Jews. All the political and religious, national and social questions are removed into the background, and only made use of as subordinate or collateral circumstances, while ambition or revenge, jealousy or avarice, love or vain-glory—in short, the whole list of vices or passions which aim at self-gratification—principally engross the attention. Those tragedies which are taken from history or politics form no exception to this rule. They represent kings or chiefs as swayed by a desire for self-aggrandisement, or as engaged in schemes of conquest and usurpation, while it would be difficult to discover in the part of Julius Cæsar or Coriolanus, in Henry IV. or Richard III., any, even the slightest, tinge of patriotic motives. How little Shakespeare thought of dramatizing either popular or religious martyrdom we can see from the brief and almost unfair notice he has taken of Cade and Joan of Arc, while he has said nothing whatever of the noble but unfortunate Lord Cobham, and has avoided referring to the rebellion of Wat Tyler. Resting, then, on the foregoing observations, we venture thus to describe, in a few words, the construction of an English drama:—An individual from the upper classes of society lusts for the throne, the wealth, or the life of another. His passion is grand and lofty, but his motives rest on no public grounds; his schemes, while seeking their own end, are opposed to the instinct of self-preservation on the part of his victim, and this produces the dramatic excitement. At length the aggressor is successful; but his triumph is short, because, in accordance with the law of dramatic

justice, he finally falls under the weight of his guilt. This species of drama we may appropriately call the *historico-moral*, taking the latter adjective as the reverse of *civil* or *political*.

Such were the two principal styles existing at the time when Lessing founded the German drama (about 1763), and when subsequently Goethe and Schiller continued to compose tragedies in the manner proposed by Lessing. "Minna" and "Nathan" are the two principal dramas of Lessing; "Götz," "Egmont," and "Faust" are the best works of Goethe; and "Don Carlos," "The Maid of Orleans," "Wallenstein," and "William Tell" have made Schiller most famous as a tragic writer. The majority of these, and other plays of the German theatre, take their subjects from history; a few, however, such as "Minna" and "Faust," from common life. In their external arrangements and versification they resemble English plays; they are either written in prose, or, more usually, in iambic metre, of five feet to each line; they do not fetter themselves in their diction by the adoption of rhymed verse; neither do they adhere to the rule of the three unities, which proved so inconvenient in the French drama. Considerable latitude is claimed and taken in shifting the place, and extending the time of the action; but the most important point of similarity between the dramatists of Germany and those of England is the principle of historic fidelity in drawing tragic character. The rule is laid down, and not violated in any of the better dramas, that each personage should act and talk in the strictest possible conformity with the class of society, the age, and the nationality to which he belongs. Thus, when Lessing draws the character of a Prussian officer, such as Major Tellheim, or that of a French adventurer, the gambler Riccaut, he imitates the actual manners and the language of such individuals, and selects for their conduct

and conversation those traits especially which are most likely to give us an accurate idea of the persons moving in their sphere of life. The same remark applies to the historical dramas of Goethe and Schiller; but, along with these points of resemblance, there are also great differences between the German and the English style. The peculiarities of the Teutonic theatre arise principally from the fact that a totally different class of dramatic subjects, with heroes who are swayed by other motives, appear on the stage; and consequently the *dénouement* is not brought about as in the Shakesperian plays. In general the German drama exhibits civic passions and social conflicts. The principal part in the tragedy of Schiller or Goethe is usually allotted to a generous patriot, who achieves the deliverance of his country, or to a religious martyr, who perishes for his belief, or to some champion or representative of one public cause or another. The events which take place are conspiracies, imprisonings, riots, battles, and discussions; the opposing party is represented by tyrants, or their governors—men such as Duke Alba, Gessler, or Questenberg. According as either the first party or the second gets the victory, the issue of the struggle is either a political revolution or a public execution. From this rough sketch it will be seen that German dramas are not so much as those of Shakespeare engaged in depicting the evil consequences of private depravity, but are, on the contrary, pictures of the unselfish (whether the political or the religious) passions of mankind. The sympathetic, the generous, and the devotional instincts of man possess a vast preponderance in German tragedy, while all those impulses which spring from calculation of advantage, or from interest and love, act only a secondary part. The triumph, or else the defeat, of heroism, is the theme of Schiller and Goethe, as the wreck of individual desires has been the subject of the English dramatist.

A short survey of the main contents of the classical dramas of Germany will put the preceding observations in a clearer light. Lessing's "Minna" represents a high sense of military honour in conflict with poverty and love: it illustrates the duty of the soldier and the officer. His "Nathan" recommends religious toleration by the example of a sage Jew. Goethe's "Götz" shows the pernicious effects of feudal turbulence in the case of a German knight; his "Egmont" dramatizes the death of a popular nobleman, a Dutch patriot; his "Faust" exhibits the restless scholar laying aside his learned pursuits, and vainly striving for happiness. Schiller's "Robbers" depicts the consequences of outlawry rebelling against the order of society; his "Fiesco" shows the evils of political agitation and republican conspiracies; his "Joan of Arc" dramatizes the heroism of a woman actuated by religious visions and patriotic ardour; his "Wallenstein" is on high treason, and his "William Tell" on popular resistance against tyranny. Each of these dramas treats of some social evil or some social virtue, which is personified in their heroes: Schiller has selected those of the political, Lessing and Goethe those of the socio-moral order.

Life and Writings of Lessing.—Lessing comes immediately after Luther in importance, and may be justly called the second father of literature. He deserves this title, not only because he founded the drama, both by precept and by practice, but also because he was the first good prose writer after the Reformation; and, thirdly, because he introduced a freer and more critical treatment of theological questions. For each of these reasons his name ranks above that of any other of the earlier German classics, although his merits as a poet, as he himself acknowledged, were not high, and were at all events not superior to those of his contemporaries. Gotthold

afra,
Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) was the son of a Lutheran clergyman, in Camenz, near Dresden, and was intended for the Church. He had received his earlier education at a school in Meissen, and subsequently entered at the University of Leipzig as a divinity student. It soon became apparent that his predilections lay in quite another direction. He formed the acquaintance of an enterprising stage manageress of the name of Frau Neuber, and wrote for her company his first original drama, "The Young Scholar" (1748); others he adapted from the French to the tastes of a Leipzig public. They met with fair success; and Lessing, who derived from this labour his share of profit, might have continued to do so, had not his father objected to see him keep company with actors, and, when remonstrance failed, ordered him home. Nothing daunted, however, by this paternal interference, the youth once more returned to Leipzig, and resumed his favourite pastime, until he was driven by the near prospect of being imprisoned for debt to exchange his University for that of Wittenberg. Here he abandoned the study of divinity, which had been forced on him, and turned to the medical profession, perhaps only to get a better excuse for continuing his literary labours. Before he had time to obtain a medical degree, Lessing once more fled from the bailiffs to Berlin, where he lived for poetry and composition alone. He published a collection of fables which he had written, besides several plays, notably "The Jews," "The Freethinker," and in 1755, "Miss Sarah Sampson," founded on Richardson's novel, "Clarissa Harlowe." The peculiarity of these dramatic compositions was that they referred to middle-class life, even when the subject, as in the latter instant, was decidedly tragic, and, moreover, that they showed a gradual turning away from French to English models. All these were far excelled by the truly national drama which followed. His "Minna von Barn-



G. E. LESSING.

(p. 100.)

helm," a soldier's play, appeared in 1763, and may be considered the first classical drama of Germany in point of time. The author lived at that time in Breslau, as secretary to General Tauentzien, the Prussian governor of the newly-conquered province of Silesia. After vainly trying for the appointment of Royal Librarian, at Berlin, and having been rejected in favour of a French monk whom Frederick raised to the position on the recommendation of D'Alembert, Lessing withdrew to Hamburg, to undertake the supreme control of the new city theatre. In this character he wrote an important series of weekly articles for a critical journal connected with the theatre. These he afterwards collected and republished under the title, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, which may be called the prologue of the German theatre. In these essays Lessing proposed new and definite principles of dramatic art. He reviewed critically the tragedies of Voltaire, and found fault with several of his pieces, especially, with his "Mérope," "Zaire," "Semiramis," and "Rodogune," for the delineation of their characters. He asserted that this delineation was inappropriate and unnatural, not so much from the historic, but chiefly from the moral inconsistencies which it involved. He denied that French tragedy deserved the high estimation in which it then stood, while he pleaded for the English drama, as possessing qualities more congenial to the German taste. The rule of the three unities, and the rhymed verse of French tragedy, offered other objects for his attacks, which procured their total disuse and discontinuance in Germany.

At that time the researches of a great art-critic, Winckelmann, were causing considerable sensation. This devoted admirer of the antique had (so at least it is said) actually changed his religion in order to be enabled to go to Rome, and live near the Vatican and the remains of Greek and Roman art. In rummaging among the relics and the dust

of libraries in Italy, he had, among other specimens of ancient sculpture, met with the famous group of Laocoon (first discovered about 1506), which represents the Trojan priest and his two sons struggling with the serpents, in accordance with the passage of the *Æneid*, where that event is graphically described. Lessing was full of the ideas of Winckelmann; and as poetry and statuary seemed to touch each other in the beautiful piece of sculpture just described, he composed (in 1766) an excellent prose work on "Laocoon; or, the Boundaries of Poetry and Painting," which contains an exposition of Lessing's philosophical views on the abstract principles of sculpture and painting in their relation to poetry. This treatise examines the truth of the dictum, attributed to Simonides, that Poetry is a speaking picture, and Painting a dumb poem. Lessing shows that the two arts are not conformable to the same laws. The painter is confined to a single moment of time and a very limited area of space. The poet, on the other hand, deals with events happening perhaps at long intervals and in places very remote from each other. The latter, therefore, possesses in articulate language an instrument far excelling the means at the disposal of the other. From these general principles Lessing drew the conclusion that the offices of painting and poetry cannot under any circumstances be the same. He consequently condemned the allegorical and descriptive poetry of England, France, and Germany, as founded on a mistaken notion of the true end of poetry. He did not entirely reject description, but required that it should follow the principles of narrative poetry, and pass from one object to another, but not attempt to present a picture of a composite whole.

In 1769, Lessing became Librarian in Wolfenbüttel, where he published his tragedy of "Emilia Galotti," and subsequently his "Nathan the Wise." At this time he

did not limit his labours to the stage, but became the advocate of more enlarged views on religion and Biblical criticism. A friend of his, Reimarus, a surgeon in Hamburg, had transmitted to him a manuscript which was said to have been found in the desk of a pastor who had lately died. The posthumous work thus divulged confessed the sincere scruples which that clergyman had entertained on the literal authenticity of several portions of sacred history, more especially of the Pentateuch. It is now, however, certain that Reimarus was himself the author of the work. Lessing did not hesitate to publish parts of this manuscript, under the title "Fragments, by an Anonymous Writer of Wolfenbüttel," thinking it, no doubt, more serviceable to the interest of truth and religion that theology should court inquiry, and not shirk it. This publication is by some considered as the first indication of what is usually called Rationalism. As at that time the friends of such views were less numerous than they have become since, Lessing got into serious difficulties with the clerical portion of the public. A Hamburg pastor, of the name of Götze, raised an outcry against him, denouncing Lessing as a supporter of heterodoxy and disbelief. The quarrel became more and more envenomed, when Götze called in the aid of the German governments, and Lessing, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick to silence, closed the controversy with his "Antigötze," in 1778—a very vigorous specimen of polemical prose. His last thoughts on this subject he published the year before his death, when he composed a lucid and well-connected treatise on the Education of Mankind. In this essay he expressed his belief that the Christian religion was a Divine revelation, but that it had certainly not been the earliest vouchsafed to men, and might perhaps not be the last. He considered Christianity as a step in the moral development of the human race, however final in some respects; he

also exemplified this theory by his history of the education of the single man, whose period of instruction and preparation closes before he attains manhood, while, nevertheless, his subsequent life teaches him many things which he did not know before, and never ceases to improve the effects of his earlier moral education.

Four years before his death Lessing had married Eva König, a widowed lady from Hamburg. She had four children by an earlier marriage, and died about a year after her union with Lessing, in childbed. This domestic affliction broke down the author's strength. He survived his wife but three years. His life has been written by Danzel, and again by Ad. Stahr, and Erich Schmidt.

The prose of Lessing is remarkable for vigour and perspicuity; he avoids all wordy circumlocution and unnecessary embellishment. The favourite arrangement of his ideas is in brief paragraphs, sometimes of no more than two lines. Most of his critical and moral essays are written in this form. He advances position on position, and deduces from them his conclusions, without ever admitting a single assertion, except on careful investigation. He has left several comedies, and a few tragedies. The three principal of his dramas shall be briefly analyzed.

Lessing's Drama.—The tragi-comedy "Minna von Barnhelm" is based on an incident of military life, supposed to happen in a Prussian town at the close of the great war of Frederick, in 1763. A brave officer, Major von Tellheim, who had received several wounds in battle, is compelled to resign his commission, being suspected of having received a bribe from the gentry of a Saxon district to which he had been sent to levy contributions of war. He was innocent; for, far from having accepted any bribe from the Saxon provincials, he had paid the sum required himself, in order to avoid the cruelties of a forced exaction, and had taken their cheque in acknowledgment of the

debt. This action, although gaining for him the affection of the Saxons, and notably that of Minna von Barnhelm, the niece of one of the resident noblemen of the district, had at the same time exposed him to an official investigation. The cheque was retained by the Prussian government, and Tellheim himself temporarily dismissed the service. This had the effect of impoverishing and disheartening the honest officer. He withdrew to a distant part of the country, and for a time his correspondence with his betrothed, Minna, was broken off. At the opening of the play we find him in great distress in the hôtel of a Prussian town, attended only by an old sergeant, who refused to leave his master, though he was unable to provide for his most ordinary wants. A lady arrives in the town, and is the unwitting cause of their being dispossessed of their rooms in the hotel. This was Minna, who was seeking her friend Tellheim, without being aware of his presence in this particular town. At last a meeting of the two lovers takes place; but scarcely are their first transports of joy over, when Tellheim relapses into his previous dependency, and wishes to depart once more. When his health is nearly shattered, his reputation gone, his means exhausted, and his prospects ruined, he gives up all idea of marriage, and despairs of a union which seemed so little promising to the lady. Unexpectedly some favourable reports from the king's head-quarters arrive in the village. A French gambler, who lounges about the hotel to inveigle the visitors and officers with dice and cards, brings some news which he had accidentally gathered at the gambling-table, to the effect that Tellheim's lawsuit has taken a different turn, and that on the conclusion of the approaching peace important disclosures in his favour are likely to be made. Ere long an orderly arrives from Frederick the Great, who more than corroborates this report. An autograph letter of the Prussian monarch acknowledges Tell-

heim's innocence, reinstates him in his dignity and income, and holds out good chance of promotion. The marriage of the couple is of course the conclusion of the play, which, for style, intrinsic probability, and effectiveness, is quite a masterpiece. It was the first good drama composed in Germany, and possesses great charm, in the noble picture which it gives of the officer's integrity, his sense of honour, and his generosity.

"*Emilia Galotti*" is a tragedy in prose, relating to some probably fictitious event in the history of Guastalla. Prince Gonzaga abuses his power as a petty sovereign for the gratification of his covetousness. He is enamoured of the daughter of one of his subjects, called Emilia Galotti; and although the object of his wishes is the betrothed of another, he cannot master his desires sufficiently to renounce the lady. An officious courtier volunteers his services to procure the removal of the bridegroom, by assassinating him on the high road, on the very day when the wedding was to have taken place. The deed is done, and Emilia is seized by the attendants of the prince. In vain her father, who guesses the perpetrator, as well as his motive, demands her immediate restitution. He is put off under various pretences. When all his efforts fail, he obtains an interview with Emilia, when his daughter, who abhors the tyrant, gives her father a dagger, with which the infuriated parent stabs her forthwith, to save her from the passion of the prince. The story is manifestly a modern version of Virginia's rape and death; but the chief objection to the tragedy is, that its colours are too overwrought for our more civilized manners, and hence will not suit the refinement of the modern stage.

In his last drama, "*Nathan the Wise*," Lessing, for the first time, used the iambic blank verse, which H. Schlegel had already adopted before him, and which corresponds very much with the metre of the Greek and English

theatre. The principal character of this play is a wealthy Jew, who, according to Boccaccio, from whom the story is taken, lived in the time of Saladin, the Arab emir of Jerusalem. Although the Hebrew capital was then a scene of bloodshed and religious warfare, and Nathan himself had suffered severely from the contest of the Christian and the Mussulman, this sage was actuated by more benevolent feelings than many of those around him. He sympathized with the magnanimity of Saladin, his friend, and when he lost his wife and eight children in one of those outbreaks of fanaticism which have at all times been common in the East, he determined to relieve the desolation of his household by adopting a Christian orphan girl, whom the tide of war had thrown before his door. Besides the child, a young Templar, a prisoner of Saladin, also becomes an object of his beneficence. In the meantime the Christian patriarch, who by the terms of the capitulation with Saladin resided in the city, seeks to tear the maiden from Nathan, in order to restore her to the faith of his Church; and only with difficulty his efforts are frustrated by Saladin. The latter often borrows large sums of money from the Jew, and talks freely with him on religion. In one of their conversations the Jewish sage relates the famous parable of the three rings, the moral of which is the necessity of religious toleration. The inculcation of this doctrine is the main object of this didactic drama, which in other respects contains but few salient points, and labours under a certain feebleness of action, although it shows also considerable skill in the connexion of historical circumstances.

The influence of Lessing on the theological opinions of the age became apparent in the rise of the *Aufklärer*, or Rationalists, who professed to enlighten mankind by means of free-thinking. They flourished especially at the time and Court of Frederick the Great. The bookseller, C. F.

Nicolai, an adversary of Goethe; Moses Mendelssohn, a philosopher and friend of Lessing; and Engel, author of the frigid family novel, "Lorenz Stark," are reckoned among the adherents of this party.

Among Lessing's numerous imitators in middle-class comedy, two subsequent writers became rather more celebrated than the others. These are *Iffland* (1759-1814), a stage-manager and actor at Hanover; and *Kotzebue* (1761-1819), a native of Weimar. It is said that the latter was jealous of the eminent poets assembled in Weimar, in favour of whom he thought himself slighted. However, his merit was not equal to his pretensions. He emigrated to St. Petersburg, and was sent for a year to Siberia, for having printed unpalatable remarks about the Czar. On the discovery of other performances of Kotzebue, which were more flattering to the Russian autocrat, Kotzebue was recalled, and treated with greater respect. He finally left St. Petersburg, and returned to Germany. But as his manners and political opinions gave offence, he lost his life in rather an extraordinary way. A German enthusiast of the name of Sand, who thought him a Russian spy and an inveterate enemy of popular reform, stabbed Kotzebue at Mannheim, and suffered death, without trying to escape or to disguise his motives. Kotzebue has left upwards of 100 plays, mostly dramatizing family incidents from everyday life. Some are sentimental, others more humorous, but few contain marks of poetic talent. Among the most successful we may mention: "Die deutschen Kleinstädter," a parody of the manners of villagers—the typical village being that of Krähwinkel; "Menschenhass und Reue," in which a misanthropist is moved to take a more hopeful view of mankind by witnessing the sincere repentance of a fair sinner; "Pagenstreiche," or the "Frolics of a Page," and "Farmer Feldkümmel." Kotzebue was severely criti-

cised by the younger Schlegel and his brother, and revenged himself by satirizing them in his "Hyperborean Donkey."

Klopstock.—F. G. Klopstock (1724–1803) was born at Quedlinburg, in Saxony, and was educated at the College of Schulpforta, then, as now, one of the leading public schools of Germany. He early distinguished himself by his proficiency in ancient and modern literature, and entered, in 1745, at Jena as a divinity student. There, and subsequently at Leipzig (for many Germans visit two, if not three, universities), he composed portions of his "Messiah," the first three cantos of which were published, in 1748, in the "Bremische Beiträge," the journal of the disciples of Gottsched. His friends entertained the greatest expectations of Klopstock; while the old critic, who always misnomered him "Klopfstock," passed a very severe judgment on his effusion. On the completion of his collegiate course, the poet became a tutor in a family; but as he met with some love disappointment from a cruel fair one, Fanny, the sister of a friend, he quitted that post, and went to Zürich, where Bodmer received him kindly. Not long after, the King of Denmark, Frederick V., gave Klopstock, on the representation of his Minister Bernstorff, an annual pension, to enable him to compose his "Messiah" at leisure. For the remainder of his life he dwelt either at Copenhagen or at Hamburg. He had a large circle of friends, and twice became a widower. As an admirer of popular liberty, he hailed the French Revolution with joy. The warm expression of his sympathies did not escape the notice of the French republicans, who, on the establishment of their commonwealth, made him their citizen, as well as a *Monsieur Gillès*, which meant Schiller: but, before that, the excesses of this political faction had disgusted Klopstock, and he retracted his former approbation in an ode.

The principal work of this poet is his "Messiah," a

religious epic, in twenty cantos, and in hexameter verse, such as this:—

Singe, unsterbliche Seele, der sündigen Menschen Erlösung,
Die der Messias auf Erden in seiner Menschheit vollendet.

It describes the life and death of the Saviour; and its chief excellence consists in the sublimity of feeling which pervades it, though, from all the discourses of heavenly beings and evil spirits, from all the descriptions of celestial spheres, and the sentiments of the author no less than his heroes, we get almost bewildered, and miss too often the stirring action required in epic poetry. The performance resembles often rather an oratorio than an epopee. Many, therefore, are of opinion that Klopstock's merit should chiefly be sought in his odes, of which he has left a large number. They are written in blank verse and Horatian metres. Many are addressed to his friends, Ebert, Ramler, Giseke, Hagedorn, and so on; others celebrate his beloved Fanny or her less cruel successors. A good many are religious odes, and a few are political. In these lyrical effusions the poet's sincere piety, his exalted patriotism, and his love for his friends have found a powerful, and often also a happy expression. Klopstock is less successful in the drama. His tragedies, such as that on Arminius, and that on the death of Adam are disfigured by a kind of lyrical rant, which, if excusable in an ode, becomes perfectly tiresome when put into the mouth of a succession of tragic characters, who never seem to get out of their exaltation.

J. G. Herder (1744-1803) was born in East Prussia, of poor parents. His father was a schoolmaster, and could scarcely afford to give him a good education, had not the self-exertions of his talented son made up for the deficiency of parental aid. At Königsberg, the place of his academic studies, Herder met two great men. The one was the phi-

losopher Kant ; the other, the Orientalist and theologian Hamann, "the Magus of the North," as he is usually called. Both had great influence on Herder. From Hamann especially he derived his fondness for Hebrew poetry, and that enigmatical manner which sometimes becomes perceptible in his style. Between 1765 and 1769, when Herder was living at Riga, as one of the clerical professors of the Lutheran "Domschule," he began to attract public attention by his "Literarische Fragmente," and his "Kritische Wälder," two essays, which for the first time set forth the principles of Sturm and Drang, by advocating the necessity for a complete change in German poetry. He demanded a return to the poetry of the early ages, to the spirit of Homer and of Ossian, and denounced the literature of the day as effete and destitute of power and nerve. His life in Russian Livonia now began to displease him, and he travelled to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of the ingenious Diderot. Thence he proceeded as travelling-companion and tutor to a North-German prince, to Strasburg, where he was detained by a disease of one of his eyes. On this opportunity (1770) he met Goethe, then a law-student at Strasburg University. In 1771 he became rector of a large parish in Bückeburg, not far from Minden. Five years later Grand-Duke Karl August of Saxe-Weimar called Herder, on the recommendation of Goethe, to the place of his residence. From that time to his death Herder was the principal clergyman in Weimar, and took a prominent part in all the parties and brilliant soirées of the ducal palace. Like Schiller and Goethe, he was raised to the rank of a nobleman, and died in 1803. His fame as a poet rests chiefly on his "Cid," an epic poem in short trochaic lines without rhyme. It was gathered from Spanish romances, and sang the life, the exploits, and the death of Rodrigo Campeador, surnamed the Cid, a Castilian knight of the twelfth century,

who distinguished himself by his valorous combats against the Saracens. The Cid's love for Donna Ximenes, his duel with her father, whom he killed for having insulted his own parent, his marriage with Ximenes, and his death in the midst of a career of victory and renown, are successively related by Herder with the utmost simplicity and grandeur of diction. The first two stanzas of the "Cid" run thus:—

Trauernd tief saß Don Diego,
Wehl war keiner je so traurig;
Gramvoll racht er Tag und Nächte
Nur an seines Hauses Schmach;

An die Schmach des ersten alten
Tapfern Hauses der von Rainez,
Daß die Inigos an Ruhme
Die Ubarcos übertraf.

The unaffected pathos of his style has made his "Cid" one of the masterpieces of German literature, though those acquainted with Spanish assert that Herder did not adhere faithfully either to the text or to the spirit of the romances which he had before him. He also collected the popular songs and ballads of many nations in his "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern," a composition to which the old Meistersänger contributed the greater part of the German specimens; other portions are well rendered from foreign languages. Herder also wrote essays on the spirit of Hebrew poetry, for the purpose of showing the existence of a similar Volks- or Ur-Poesie among the Hebrews, as he thought he could discern in the infant stage of all the other nations, which had inhabited the earth. His "Ideas towards the History of Mankind" is a work of much thought and research. Herder's style has peculiarities quite as striking as that of Lessing. It has been said of Herder that he wrote poetry like prose, and prose like poetry. While his metrical versions are done with a

brevity and neatness of diction bordering on baldness, or on poverty of ornament, his sermons and essays are rather eccentric, fanciful, and teeming with Oriental imagery. Herder was not a master of argument or reasoning, like Lessing. He aimed at impressing his hearers or readers by means of noble pictures and lofty aspirations, but not at gaining them over by sober persuasion, or by appeals to the understanding. His pages read like one continued rhapsody, and occasionally tire by their frequent exclamations and interrogations.

The Göttingen Dichter-Bund.—About 1772 the University of Göttingen became the rendezvous of a number of literary characters, whose object it was to regenerate German poetry by a more thorough abandonment of the erudite, and a return to the popular style. They proposed to abjure all Latinized or Frenchified diction, and to write pure Teutonic. They wished to sing to the people and of the people. The common man was to understand their verses, and to appreciate their art. If hitherto poetry had chosen its models and topics either abroad, or in antiquity, or in the upper ranks of society, it was now to descend to the cottages of the poor, and to sing to the unlettered of their tale of joy and sorrow. Consequently the main offspring of this school were idyllic and ballad-poetry. The movement of Klinger, and his dramatic bubble, though it did not originate within the club itself, was but a pendant to their tendencies. But Klinger had saved himself from school dust and pedants' rods by capers on the highlands of Scotland, and had taken Macpherson as his guide; while the patriots of Göttingen would hear of nothing but the green lanes and mountain paths of Fatherland. Their proclivities were all for rural scenes and rustic life. Their heroes and heroines were the German Ritter, the villager, the Bauersmann, and his Hausfrau. To speak or write in Low-German was reckoned meritorious; and the favourite

name of their poet's club was "The Hain-Bund," or Grove Association. The majority of its members were men of eminent scholarship, and a few of them were noblemen. The principal were Bürger, Voss, Claudius, Hölty, and the two Counts Stolberg, authors of some fine ballads on ancient knights; less famous were Boje, Miller, and Hahn.

G. A. Bürger (1747-1794) was a popular ballad-writer, of the highest order of merit. He led rather an irregular life for a Göttingen professor, was given to joviality and dissipation, married three times, and died at an early age. Few poets have succeeded better than Bürger in writing popularly; and had his steadiness in private life, or his judgment in the selection of his topics, corresponded with his endowments, he might have ranked with the first poets of Germany, and indeed of any country. The best known of his compositions is his "Leonora," a very moving ballad, describing the distress and the vision of a maiden whose lover had not returned from Frederick's war. When, at the close of the campaign, the army had come home, Leonora inquired for her William by waiting at the roadside with her mother, and questioning every troop, as they drew homewards, with banners flying. But she could learn no news of him, and on returning at last with her mother, sank half fainting on a couch. Soon she fancies she hears a horse galloping down the street, a well-known step before the door, and a knock from the rider. Her William is there, but he cannot stay; he comes to fetch Leonora to the wedding, as he had often sworn he would. He wishes to take her on the saddle, for he has far to ride to his dwelling-place, and the wedding guests are waiting. Leonora obeys the strange injunction. After a long progress through the night, he comes with her to a dreary plain, where his comrades are arrayed in order. They are dumb and ghastly pale; and in the midst of them William

shows her his hymeneal resting-place. It is joined rather tightly of "four long boards and two boardlets." Nobody has ever told more simply and more powerfully what wounds the fiend of war inflicts on private happiness. Bürger has written many other balads of merit, such as "The Emperor and the Abbot," a comic poem founded on an old English ballad, which derides the sloth and the ignorance of the prelacy; "The Wives of Weinsberg," referring to the capitulation of Weinsberg in 1140, when the women carried their husbands off on their backs; "The Wild Huntsman," and "Frau Magdalis." The music of his verse, the force of his traits, and the choice of his words are quite inimitable, and leave the best specimens of German behind them. Occasionally his homeliness borders on the common and the low, and a few of his poems are wanting in delicacy.

Bürger is also the reputed author of "The Adventures of Baron Münchhausen," which appeared anonymously in 1787. This satirical romance describes a number of improbable, or rather impossible, exploits, achieved by a German baron, who had served in Russia against the Turks. It is particularly laughable from the serio-comic veracity with which these adventures are passed off as so many true stories. Baron Münchhausen ties his horse to what he supposes to be a sign-post, peeping out of the snow, and finds, on awakening the next morning, that his steed is dangling two hundred feet above him, on the top of a village church-steeple, while he is lying at the foot of the church. A thaw had set in, and melted the snow. But with his usual presence of mind, he loads his pistols, shoots through the halter, swings himself on the charger, who falls at his feet, and rides off the next moment. The origin of this composition dates from the time when Bürger stayed at a German watering-place of the name of Pyrmont. Here he met the immortal baron, who sat at

every public coffee-house, in the midst of the admiring visitors of the locality, to whom he related his stories. The bragging Falstaff style of his alleged feats, and the terrifying gesticulations with which he accompanied his boast, struck Bürger so forcibly, that he devised, in conjunction with Raspe, to publish an exaggerated version of his narrative, and thus the famous satire of Baron Münchhausen has been handed down to posterity. The baron resented the service done to him, and evinced no relish for immortality in the shape in which it was bestowed. He went to law, and involved Bürger in troublesome litigation. The poet saw no means of escaping from Münchhausen's ire except by casting doubts on his authorship, and trying to wash his hands of the lampoon. Hence, it is often asserted that his friend, Raspe, really had the larger share in the publication, and ought to be considered the true author of this satire.

J. H. Voss (1751-1826) was an able scholar, and an exquisite pastoral poet. He has given metrical translations of Virgil and Homer, the best which Germany can boast of. His version will always rank highly among the many representations of the ancient epic which have been attempted by moderns. The hexameter, the epithets, and pleonasm of Homer are preserved in Voss's translations; and this at once distinguishes his performance from those of Pope or Lord Derby. With respect to closeness of rendering, Wolff, the author of the famous *Prolegomena*, alone has ever said that it might have been done better. A translation, however, cannot possibly be exactly the same as the original, and differences must be admitted even here. The version of Voss, by its too laboured and too learned character, sometimes gives us Homer *minus* his simplicity. He was also an excellent original poet. His chief work under this head is his pastoral "Louise," a charming idyl in hexameter verse, describing scenes of

family life in the house of a country parson in Holstein, and diversifying its homely pictures with the story of a courtship between the parson's daughter and a curate of the neighbourhood. Among the many minor poems which Voss has left, there are also two Low-German pastorals. On leaving Göttingen he was appointed to a professorship at Jena, and subsequently at Heidelberg, where he died.

Propos of pastoral poetry, two earlier idyllic poets may be mentioned, though they are not otherwise connected with the Göttingen school. Some twenty years before Voss, *Ewald von Kleist*, an officer in Frederick's army, had diversified his warlike occupations by songs on shepherds and Arcadian scenes. His principal work is his "Frühling," or "Spring," in hexameters. Kleist fought bravely, and fell, in 1759, on the battle-field of Kunersdorf. A contemporary of Kleist was Gessner, who composed a semi-religious pastoral in prose, on the "Death of Abel." This book has often been translated into English and other languages.

Wieland.—C. M. Wieland (1733-1813) was the son of a Swabian clergyman, and began life as a strict devotee and composer of religious verses. In 1750 he entered at Tübingen as a student of law. An unrequited attachment which he formed in that town gave his character a rather melancholy cast. In 1752 he went to Zurich, where Bodmer was still professor. The old veteran received him with marked distinction, and he remained nearly ten years in Switzerland, until at last a Count Stadion induced him to return to Biberach, his native town. Here Wieland obtained an appointment, and became acquainted with a number of noblemen of much literary culture, but also of great laxity of morals and principles. The effect of this society on Wieland was to make him

lose a great deal of his earlier earnestness. He assimilated his manners to the ease and polish of the higher classes, and also wished to vie in elegance of style with writers like Voltaire, and, even to equal them in gaiety and frivolity. The kind of books he now sent into the world left no doubt as to the tendency of his sentiments. They were humorous novels or comic stories, such as his "Agathon," "Musarion," "The Abderites," and "Aristippus." Greece, in the brightest periods of her history, between Pericles and Alexander, is the scene and subject of his fictions; and the courtezans Aspasia, Thaïs, and others, are among his favourite characters. His novels are free from downright indelicacy, but they inculcate throughout a liberal indulgence for the amorous foibles of both sexes. His style is graceful, humorous, and light; and if he has not always succeeded in drawing accurate pictures of Greek life, he has yet shown no inconsiderable acquaintance with the spirit and history of antiquity. The same thing is amply proved by Wieland's masterly translations of Horace, Lucian, and Cicero's letters. While the text of these versions bears witness to his good taste and command of the language, his notes especially will convince anyone who will examine them that Wieland was no mean scholar. In 1769 he was appointed professor at Erfurt; and, three years after, the favourite of the nobility was selected by the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar to superintend the education of her two sons, the elder of whom was her heir, Karl August. This post he filled to the last; and when his services were no longer required for educational purposes, Wieland remained in Weimar at court. Goethe pronounced his funeral oration in 1813. His most popular poem is his "Oberon." This work is a romance in twelve cantos, in the style of Tasso or Ariosto. It sings, in rhymed stanzas of eight



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lines, the adventures of Huon, a Frankish knight, whom Charlemagne dismissed from his court, leaving him no hope of return unless he achieved certain perilous enterprises at Bagdad. His accomplishment of these apparent impossibilities was assisted by the fairy Oberon, whose name and character are borrowed from Shakespeare.

The following is the first stanza of "Oberon":—

Noch einmal sattelt mir den Hippogryphen, ihr Mäusen,
 Zum Ritt in's alte romantische Land!
 Wie lieblich um meinen entseesselten Busen
 Der holde Wahnsinn spielt! Wer schlang das magische Band
 Um meine Stirne? Wer treibt von meinen Augen den Rebel,
 Der auf der Verwelt Wundern liegt?
 Ich seh' in buntem Gewühl, bald siegend, bald besiegt,
 Des Ritters gutes Schwert, der Heiden blinkende Säbel.

Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825) is usually called Jean Paul, and belongs to the class of humorous novel-writers. His father was a poor clergyman in Wunsiedel, and educated him in rural retirement at home, until he was able to visit a school at Hof, and subsequently the University of Leipzig. But before young Richter's education was half finished his father died, and left his family penniless. Now came a time of hard struggling and bitter privation, especially as he had to support his mother. He completed, however, his college course, and subsisted by tuition and authorship. His first novel was "Die unsichtbare Loge," and his second "Hesperus." Then came "Quintus Fixlein" and the "Life of Siebenkäs." In 1796 he paid a visit to Weimar, whither he had been invited by Frau von Kalb. The court of Weimar received him kindly, but both Goethe and Schiller failed to appreciate Richter. He also went to Berlin, where Queen Louise of Prussia patronized him, and after repeatedly changing his residence, he settled,

in 1804, at Baireuth, in Bavaria, where he lived until his death, and had a pension from the king. His only son lost his reason, and died at college, to the deep affliction of his father.

Among the novels of Jean Paul, those referring to the humbler ranks of society are in general more successful than his descriptions of court life, and his attempts at portraying the manners of the upper classes. One of the earliest, and best, of the former is his biography of the contented little schoolmaster, Wuz. This little story, written about 1790, contains Richter's *beau-ideal* of a happy man. Schoolmaster Wuz is happy because he is contented. He does not envy the rich for their luxuries; he knows how to limit his desires, and seeks felicity where he can find it, viz. at home. He rejoices in his stove, his cloak, his flowers, his books, his pipe, his beer, and his *sauerkraut*. He woos and weds the wife whom he adores; he dotes on his children. Above all, he delights in teaching, and thinks the life of a schoolmaster the finest occupation which a man can follow. Similar to this biography is the "Life of Fifth Assistant Schoolmaster Fixlein," properly Fuchslein. This story relates how a young usher at school went, during his holidays, to pay a visit to his widowed mother. He is an only son, and is received with that warmth of affection which only a mother can show. It is Sunday, and he at the first peal of the village bells betakes himself to church. Here he sees again his old friends and acquaintances, and after service the parson meets him, and invites him to dinner. On this occasion we are told how Fixlein fell in love with the parson's daughter, Etiennette. Next day he goes to the hall of the village squire, to pay his respects to the resident baron's family. The lady of the house receives him with much condescension, and, among other things, questions him closely on his religious opinions. Between these and

other visits the holidays of Fixlein draw to a close. When he has returned to his school he is promoted to the office of Second Master. Shortly after the parson dies, and he instantly makes application for the benefice. He goes to preach his trial sermon, and the influence of the Squire's wife as well as the general good will of the villagers decide the election in favour of Fixlein, who, together with the living, obtains the hand of Etienneette.

The two novels before mentioned contain few elements of conflict, and are, therefore, somewhat wanting in interest. But the story of Siebenkäs (1796), on the discords of wedded life, is full of strife and passion. It opens with a description of the wedding of the hero, who probably takes his name from his short, fat figure, reminding one of seven Dutch cheeses, one piled upon the other. He is poorhouse solicitor in Kuhschnappel, and takes to wife a pretty milliner, Lenette, who is a most loving consort, but only as long as her desires for comfort and fine dress are satisfied. But Siebenkäs does not prosper; his fees are few and small, the strictest economy cannot save them from want, and the intervention of the Reverend Schulrath Stiefel only serves to embitter the relations of man and wife. One of their bitterest disappointments was the failure of Siebenkäs to obtain possession of a legacy bequeathed by a deceased relative. He had in former years, through some youthful caprice, assumed the name of a friend bearing a remarkable likeness to himself, and this was now taken advantage of by the crafty executor as an excuse for withholding payment. Siebenkäs was unable satisfactorily to establish his identity. His despair at this untoward result at last determines him to leave his home, and represent himself as dead. A mock funeral takes place, and a few hours before the ceremony Siebenkäs slinks out by the back-door. He conceals himself under an assumed name in Vaduz, and returns only after the lapse

of two years to Kuhschnappel. He stands by his own tombstone, and sees, side by side with his own, the name of Lenette. She had married in the interval the Reverend Schulrath Stiefel, and died in childbirth.

Several of the novels of Jean Paul are expositions of his views on Education: "Levana," and "The Invisible Lodge" belong to this class. The latter seems to be a satire on the Moravian practice of secluding children from all intercourse with the world. A Moravian family, in their anxiety to preserve their son from every taint of corruption, have him educated in a subterranean cave by a pious teacher, until he has almost reached the age of manhood. He then enters on his career in the world, as an officer in the regiment of a petty German prince. His soft and sensitive nature is wholly unsuited to the life led by his companions in the corps. He resigns his commission, and receives an appointment at the court of the prince. But this is only a change for the worse. The immorality and dissipation, the influence of which he in vain strives to resist, would have soon ruined the character of the young man, had his friendship with the noble Amandus, and his love for the pure-minded Beata, not counteracted their bad effects, and at last made him retire from the court.

In "Hesperus" (1795) and "Titan" (1800-1803) Richter has taken a higher flight. They are pictures of the family life of German princes, and of the surroundings of their courts; and the pictures are the reverse of flattering. The heroes of both novels are princes left in ignorance of their real parentage. This has a beneficial effect on their education, for it removes them from the corrupting atmosphere of courts, and by committing them to the care of humbler guardians, it prevents the growth of pride and self-esteem. By the name "Titan" Jean Paul wished to characterise the overweening courtiers of the latter of the

two novels, notably one Roquairol, a colonel who blows out his brains not a moment too soon, considering his vices. A female Titan of the story is Linda, a designing maid of honour who attempts to entrap prince Albano into marriage. Some have paid Jean Paul the bad compliment of asserting that the character of his Linda was taken from his friend, Frau von Kalb.

The "Flegeljahre" (Wild Oats, or Years of Hobbledehoyism), (1804–1805), begins with a most humorous scene—the opening of the will of Van Kabel. This Dutch Croesus has left a large fortune, and appointed as his chief heir a young lawyer, Vult Harnisch, and as his second, that one amongst his seven surviving relatives who shall be the first to weep during the half hour following the opening of the will. This leads to a ridiculous contest. The efforts of the seven surviving relatives to force tears from their eyes are the occasion of the strangest facial contortions. A starving curate at last wins the contest and the legacy. The chief heir finds his position is not by any means better. To obtain possession of his share, he is obliged, by the provisions of the will, to serve each of the seven others in their several employments, until they are satisfied with his exertions: the efforts made by Vult to comply with this condition form the subject of the remainder of the novel.

The style of Richter has been described by Carlyle in the following language:—"A perfect Indian jungle it seems, a boundless, unparalleled imbroglio. He deals with astonishing liberality in parentheses, dashes, and subsidiary clauses, invents hundreds of new words, alters old ones, or, by hyphen, chains and pairs and packs them together in most jarring combinations. The whole is one tissue of metaphors, and similes, and allusions to all the provinces of Earth, Sea, and Air." Very grotesque are his names of persons and places. His cities of Flachsen-

fingen, Scherau, Pestiz, Haarhaar, etc., are not to be found on any map; nor the names of Siebenkäs, Leibgeber, Flitte, Vult, in any directory. The quality which redeems and explains his many whimsicalities is his humour. He is a sage in the disguise of a *Schalksnarr*, and under his strange mask there beats a heart full of sympathy for the poor and suffering among mankind.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOURTH PERIOD—THE CLASSICAL ERA—SCHILLER.

Life of Schiller.—Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) was born at Marbach, in Würtemberg. His father was an officer, and destined him, first for the legal, but subsequently for the medical profession. He received his education at the Karls-Schule, a Stuttgart College, where he spent six years, and endured very harsh treatment. The military drill established in this school, the punctilious regulations, the frequent interference of the patron, Duke Karl Eugen, and the rudeness which Schiller personally experienced on several occasions at the hands of this prince, affected the sensitive youth to such a degree as to render him thoroughly dissatisfied with his condition. The gloomy view which he then took of life received an eloquent expression in his juvenile tragedy "The Robbers," sketched when he was still at school, but first published in 1781. At this time Schiller was acting as probationary Army Surgeon, and lived at Stuttgart, near the College above mentioned, when he determined to abscond from his post, in order to escape the intolerable tyranny under which he suffered. After a temporary



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sojourn at Mannheim he went to the neighbourhood of Meiningen, where the mother of a schoolfellow, Frau von Wollzogen, afforded him shelter and retreat. While staying here he wrote his "Fiesco," and his "Kabale und Liebe," both of which contained exaggerated pictures of vices and virtues. After a temporary connexion with the theatre of Mannheim for which he arranged stage plays, Schiller became the editor of a journal called "Thalia," and published in its columns numerous poems and articles, as well as two acts of his "Don Carlos." The earlier scenes of this drama were read by Schiller before the Hessian Court, at the palace at Darmstadt; and so favourable was the impression made by the reading of the poem upon the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Karl August, who happened to be present, that he bestowed on Schiller the title of Ducal Councillor.

The next two years in Schiller's life, 1785-1787, were spent in Saxony, where he had gone on the invitation of two friends, who had sought his acquaintance from pure admiration of his genius. One of these was G. Körner, a Dresden lawyer, and the father of the famous writer of war-songs. It was while under the influences of this warm friendship that Schiller composed his ode to "Joy," and completed his "Don Carlos."

In July, 1787, Schiller went to Weimar to solicit some appointment from the reigning prince. The only suitable post at that time at the disposal of the court was the Professorship of History at Jena. This position was promised to Schiller at no distant date, and in order to prepare for it he removed to the neighbourhood of Weimar. He now applied himself to the study of History, and more especially to that of the stormy period succeeding the Reformation. The results of these labours soon became apparent. He published in 1788 his first historical work, "The Revolt of the Netherlands," and began to write his "History of

the Thirty Years' War" (published 1791-93). He also composed his fragmentary novel, "The Ghost-seer" (1789), which related, in an epistolary form, how a German prince, calling himself Count O, had been induced to change his faith, and, in consequence of this, to resign his pretensions to the throne, by the impostures and conjurations of a jesuitical wizard. In 1789 Schiller received from Duke Karl August the solicited appointment of Professor of History at the University of Jena. He zealously entered on the duties of his office, but his labours soon began to be interrupted by attacks of pulmonary disease. He was, during that and his subsequent illnesses, upheld by the care of Charlotte Lengefeld, a niece of Frau von Wollzogen, whom he had married in 1790. The tedious hours during which he was confined to his bed were spent by him in reading the works of Kant. The influence of this philosopher may be traced in several poems of that period, more particularly in the "Three Words of Faith," his "Three Words of Delusion," and his fine lines on "Hope." His essay on "The Aesthetical Education of Man" was written for the Danish Duke of Augustenburg, who had given him a pension of a thousand thalers for three years; that on "Naive and Sentimental Poetry" is an able attempt to apply the principles of Kant's philosophy to questions of Art.

In 1794 he first entered into closer relation with Goethe, who was Schiller's senior by ten years, and had attained celebrity before him. The two master poets of Germany edited together two successive journals, first the "Horen," then the "Musen-Almanach." Besides the satirical *Xenia*, a large number of lyrical compositions of the highest order, as well as some critical essays of great merit, first appeared in the columns of these papers. Schiller's ballads, like those of Goethe, owe their origin mainly to the year 1797. In 1799 the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had for some

time relieved Schiller from his official duties, owing to his continued illness, induced him to reside permanently near Goethe and himself; and thus, for the last six years of his life, he took up his abode at Weimar. Now only were his best dramas given to the world. His "Wallenstein" came out in 1799, his "Mary Stuart" in 1800, his "Maid of Orleans" in 1801, the "Bride of Messina" in 1803, and his "William Tell" in 1804. In the following year death, by pulmonary consumption, overtook him, at the early age of forty-five, loved, admired, and lamented by all who ever knew him. The unpretending modesty of his character, and the purity of his morals, almost as much as his poetry, endeared his memory to his and subsequent ages. He was an excellent husband and father, a sincere friend, and a warm-hearted patriot. His intellectual and poetic qualities differed considerably from those of Goethe, although both were of the highest order. Schiller possessed greater talent for the drama and for historical narrative. In clearness of view, in earnestness and resolution, he was far Goethe's superior. His temperament was lofty and generous, and hence he imparted sometimes to his tragic characters a tinge of the enthusiasm of his soul. More prone to admire the good than to search out the bad qualities of mankind, he was instinctively attracted by noble and heroic actions. On the other hand he did not possess the same talent for observation as his friend. Goethe looked on men more dispassionately than Schiller, and understood much better how to dissect their whims and expose their infirmities, even though he might not be able to clothe his observations in such a lofty style, nor to invent such exquisite dramatic action as Schiller. T. Carlyle has written Schiller's life in an admirable manner.

Schiller's Drama.—The nature of poetic genius, in its juvenile stage, cannot be better illustrated than by the

first tragedy of Schiller. The "Robbers" dates from the time which the poet spent at school in Stuttgart. As he had then but little experience of the world, it cannot be expected that we should find in this performance any great powers in the delineation of character; but for poetic feeling, for vivid imagination, and, occasionally, for style, there is a great deal in it that will astound its readers. Here and there the text has been improved by the author at a maturer age, but not enough to deprive it of its original character. Even a cursory perusal of the poems inserted in the drama will convince anyone that a youth who could write such lines was predestined by nature to become the bard elect of his countrymen. The banditti depicted in this play are just that kind of characters which most young people like to imagine—a number of reckless desperadoes, each with a grievance and with a plaint against society. They are outlaws by no fault of their own, but by the wrongs of others, because they scorned to associate any longer with the monstrous knaves and the silly dupes of the civilized world. The captain of these brigands is Karl Moor; he had been driven from home by the persecutions of a hypocritical brother: Franz, the brother, had cruelly maligned him before his father, had drawn on him the curse of the misguided old man, and procured Karl's expulsion from the family. Not yet satisfied, his wicked brother had torn asunder the last tie that endeared his home to Karl; he had estranged and removed from him for ever the lady whom Karl adored. Thus stricken to the soul, Karl Moor had fled into the forests of Bohemia, and warred against society, as society had warred against him. Collecting around him a band of similarly disposed young fellows, he carried far and wide his depredations, and rushed madly from plunder to carousal, and from carousal to plunder. Nothing can exceed the stirring romance with which the brigand's life is

depicted by Schiller. Yet the gloomy robber can find no rest; his thoughts often recur to the past, and his mind dwells on the fond scenes of his earlier days. At length he resolves to dispatch a confidant to the hall of his ancestors. By this messenger he learns that his brother is but adding to the score of his misdeeds, and that success has only hardened him in villainy. His aged father has been cast into a dungeon; and Amelia, the beloved of his heart, is languishing in a nunnery, because she will not marry Franz. She never loved any other but Karl. The result may be foreseen, and we are prepared for the catastrophe. Binding themselves by a common oath of fidelity, the robbers and their chieftain descend into the neighbourhood of the castle of the Moors. On their sudden approach, Franz Moor barricades himself in a fort, where he is assaulted by a party of the brigands, while Karl and the rest go to look for his father and Amelia. After a desperate fight, the villain Franz, expecting no mercy from his besiegers, strangles himself with a gold chain. Meantime the aged parent is drawn from the prison where he had been shut up: blind and half crazed, he scarcely knows the youth, who clasps him in his arms, and expires, after pardoning Karl, and retracting the curse which he had pronounced in a moment of unhappy delusion. Scarcely has the grey old man breathed his last, when the poor and broken frame of Amelia is brought to light. But what use was it to her to see again the friend of former days? She cannot marry the blood-stained brigand. She asks for death as an act of mercy. When Moor sees that his fortune is blasted for ever, he bethinks himself of his own exit, and reflects for a moment on the best mode of destruction. A thousand ducats are the price set on his head, and he thinks he might be useful by his death, as he had not been so by his life. He has noticed a poor labourer, a father of eleven children—his blood-

money will feed the drudge and his family ; so he goes and surrenders himself as a prisoner to the poor man. Thus ends Schiller's youthful tragedy—a work which, with all its faults, seeks in vain its equal for wild grandeur and sublimity of conception.

The tragedy of "Fiesco" dramatizes the conspiracy of a Genoese noble named Fiesco, who headed a plot for the overthrow of the Dorias, and the deliverance of his native city. His enterprise is brought to a happy issue ; but in the hour of his victory Fiesco lusts for the diadem which he had snatched from another. A devoted republican, once his friend, and a member of the same conspiracy, steps between Fiesco and his schemes of usurpation. He first conjures him to desist ; and, when he fails to extort a promise to that effect, he hurls the ambitious noble, one dreary night, from a bridge into the waves that ran below.

"Kabale und Liebe," or, Court Intrigue and Love, is a domestic tragedy, and excels in point of feeling anything Schiller ever wrote. It describes the fatal effects of a hopeless passion, and the cruelty of a sordid parent in crossing his son's affection. The event is supposed to take place at a petty court in Germany, and shows what Schiller thought of such places before he went to Weimar. Ferdinand, the son of a minister of state, has formed an attachment for a person of inferior station, whose name is Louisa Miller. The heroine of the piece, and of the opera founded on it, is the daughter of a musician who had given Ferdinand lessons in playing on the flute. This acquaintance proves highly distasteful to Ferdinand's father, who has destined his son for a very different match. The prince had a lady favourite to dispose of, and it is her hand which is to bless the wayward youth. But the latter indignantly refuses the boon thrust upon him, and nothing can induce him to forsake the chosen of his heart. When everything else has failed to shake

his purpose, a diabolical stratagem is set on foot in order to put an end to his obnoxious *liaison*. The honest musician and his wife are arrested; and to get them out of prison, Louisa is persuaded to write and sign a letter in which she represents herself as listening to some discreditable proposals from a court gentleman. When she has put her name under the falsehoods dictated to her, the letter is shown to Ferdinand. He demands in vain an explanation, and is met by Louisa with nothing but evasions—coupled, however, with her assurance that she is willing to die with him, as she knows their union is hopeless. Her despairing lover attributes these ambiguous answers to a consciousness of her guilt, and in a fit of despondency gives her a dose of poison, while he takes another himself. Too late he learns what base means and what pressure had been employed to extort from her a declaration from which her whole conduct dissented.

We have thought it needless to point out the exaggerations contained in this, no less than in the two preceding tragedies. In their plot, and also in their language, they show a degree of extravagance which is eminently characteristic of a great poet in his younger days. At the same time, the pathos of word and action is sometimes quite overpowering—in fact, it is just the want of sobriety and moderation which makes these tragedies miss the mark of perfection.

The next tragedy, “Don Carlos,” was a great improvement on the preceding, although it still contained traces of the old defect. It made a rapid advance towards the political drama, which was Schiller’s true vocation. He took here as his subject the story of the execution of Philip II.’s son, who was accused by his father of two crimes—a secret intrigue with the queen, his step-mother, and siding with the rebellious Dutch. The cruel monarch had taken and wedded the lady who was betrothed to his

son, and Don Carlos was still fondly attached to his former betrothed. He is introduced in Schiller's tragedy as committing repeated indiscretions in conversations and letters, all of which are duly reported to the king. Besides this offence, he and his friend, the Marquis Posa, take up the cause of the Dutch against Alba, and Posa becomes imprudently excited in his advocacy of religious toleration and the privileges of the Spanish province. The play ends with the imprisonment of the prince and the death of his friend, who is shot by order of the king, while he visits the prince in his prison-cell. The fate of the latter is only delayed; and in Philip's last words to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor we are given to understand that his execution was shortly to follow. In this noble drama Schiller has given fine descriptions of the horrors of Philip's reign, the bigotry of his court, the stern cruelty of the monarch, the terrors of the Inquisition, and the savage rigour of Duke Alba. To the prince Don Carlos, the poet has given a better character than belonged to him in history, and this was inevitable if he was to be the hero of a tragedy. But the critics are unanimous in finding fault with the invented character of Don Posa; his language, they say, is more like that of a liberal and enthusiastic German, or like the part which Schiller would have taken, had he been there, than like the ideas which one might expect of a Spanish nobleman of the sixteenth century. Probably Schiller found, in the progress of his drama, which was not written all at once, that a personage of a liberal political tendency was required, partly to make a contrast to the rest of Philip's court, partly to bring the piece to its *dénouement*. Political causes could not be dispensed with to explain the execution of the prince; his intrigue with his step-mother would not itself suffice to justify such a barbarous measure; for as Elizabeth, the queen, remains virtuous, and Don Carlos commits at most but verbal im-

proprieties, which seem all the more excusable when we consider that she had formerly been betrothed to him, the death of the prince for such delinquencies would have been too revolting an exercise of regal or parental authority. The poet was compelled to increase the guilt of his hero by misdemeanours of another kind. To invent these, history showed him the way. In 1568 the prince is reported to have been on the point of escaping to Holland, where he intended to place himself at the head of the insurgents; but his father frustrated his design. Of this incident Schiller made an extensive use, when he remodelled and completed his original sketch of the drama. He let Don Carlos embroil himself in the Dutch rebellion; and to explain his schemes he gave him a friend who might suggest this policy: this friend was necessarily a Spanish Liberal, one of the opponents of Alba—one who sided with the Moderate party, and who preferred a more humane *régime* to the atrocities committed by the duke. Schiller supposed him to have been young and magnanimous, and to have resided two years in Holland, during which time he might well have imbibed some of the notions of religious liberty and political independence which were then so rife among the Dutch. Schiller put, in fact, into his mouth the sentiments which the sight of the struggle then raging in Holland could not but awaken in the bosom of any unprejudiced eye-witness. In consideration of all these circumstances, we can excuse a great deal of the enthusiasm of Don Posa; and the error of the dramatist can at most only be that of excess in colouring, but not of totally false delineation of character. In this sense, therefore, we may still claim the tragedy of "Don Carlos" as one of the better and classical dramas of Germany.

When, after a lapse of eleven years, Schiller once more turned to tragedy, his genius, matured by age, rose at once to the highest degree of excellence and purity. His

“Wallenstein” is a masterpiece of dramatic art, both for historical truth and for grandeur of conception. Though of considerable length, the tragedy, or rather the trilogy, preserves throughout great simplicity in its plot, and a happy unity of action, since all the incidents are grouped around one man, whose tragic end was the consequence of his fatal ambition. Led by his mighty aspirations to power, and disgusted with the insane measures and ingratitude of Vienna, the Austrian general is just on the point of forsaking the Imperial cause, and taking part with the Swedes, when his treasonable enterprise is thwarted, and his life brought to an untimely close by the daggers of hired assassins. There was in his retinue one Piccolomini, an officer of Italian descent, and formerly a comrade, but afterwards a jealous rival of Wallenstein. In his soul loyalty to the emperor and hope of promotion had drowned the voice of friendship, and he had long in secret undermined the schemes of his general by a deeply-laid snare for his destruction. At Eger, whither the general had gone with a chosen few, the messengers of Piccolomini surprise Wallenstein just after he has gone to rest. In the darkness of night, while all is hushed around the castle, the bloody deed is perpetrated. The details of this scene are brought out with fascinating effect; but the growth of the conspiracy, the characters and motives of the murderers, are also set before us with tragic power. The most attractive personage of the drama is Wallenstein himself. His almost superhuman energy, his sullen, high-souled pride, his unlimited influence over the soldiers, his magnificent generosity, and his credulous faith in astrology, are so many historic, as well as dramatic traits, which since Schiller wrote have been inseparably associated with the name of that general. The army and soldiers of the thirty years’ war, and the state of the empire, torn by invasion, religious strife, and private jealousies, are drawn with a

masterly hand. Schiller placed these collateral features of his drama in the two earlier portions of his trilogy, and thus avoided making his tragedy too diffuse. Another episode, and that not the least affecting, is the love of the fiery Max Piccolomini, son to the officer just mentioned, for Thecla, the only daughter of Wallenstein; and although it may surprise at first sight to find love and treachery dwelling closely together under one roof, Schiller has understood how to manage their courtship with equal dignity and probability.

The tragedy of "Mary Stuart" shows that unhappy queen suffering for her Catholic faith, and doing compulsory penance for the sins of her earlier life. The chief charm of this piece is the picture it contains of royalty fallen so low, and bereaved of all hope. Her beauty, her rank, her noble bearing, her resignation, make us forget the levity of Mary's youth; and a powerful emotion of sympathy is the only feeling with which we see her, on her last walk, tread the scaffold, and hasten to the termination of her earthly misery.

In his next drama, "The Maid of Orleans," Schiller generously attempted to vindicate the character of Joan of Arc from the scurrilous ridicule of Voltaire. The author of "La Pucelle" had defiled the name of his heroic countrywoman by a satire in which Joan figured as a low courtesan, just as stupidly fanatical and morally debased as a female camp follower and a puppet of rustic superstition ought to be. Neither had Shakespeare done justice to Joan. In his "Henry VI.," Part I., she is represented as a female charlatan, without any high motive, guilty of imposture as well as immorality, and richly deserving her fate, which made her the scoff of the English soldier, as once she had been his terror. The genius of poetry had appeared to Schiller in a loftier guise. He could discern heroism wherever he found it. Whatever national or reli-

gious bias he might feel, neither of these was such as to interfere with a just appreciation of the shepherdess of Vaucouleurs. He therefore determined to make Joan of Arc the heroine of a tragedy, and to draw her character as that of a woman actuated by a religious patriotism, and firmly persuaded of the divine origin of her mission. This view is at once the most poetical and the most historically true which he could have taken of the Maid of Orleans; and Schiller must stand acquitted of having in any main point falsified the page of history by a picture of fictitious grandeur.

Let us, for a moment, reflect on the achievements of Joan. She roused her king and countrymen from their lethargy; she marched in the front of armies against a foreign foe; she crowned her sovereign at Rheims, and spread dismay among the English before Orleans. Such deeds could not have been accomplished without a corresponding degree of nerve and resolution. There must have been in Joan some moral force which raised her above the vulgar. Unless we assume that the law of cause and effect was violated in her case, we must believe that she was stimulated by a powerful and inspired patriotism, which made her rise from her humble station, and enabled her to restore the fortunes as well as the spirit of an utterly disheartened people. That her religious ideas were coloured by the superstitions of her age is probable enough; that her career was not unchequered by trials and humiliations is equally probable; it is no less natural that her fortitude should not always preserve its masculine character, but be alloyed with a remnant of softer inclinations. If heroism in a woman is a historical reality, it must be liable to each of these exceptions. Schiller fully discerned all such accessories in the part of the Maid, and gave to each their due weight. His "Johanna" is no savage amazon, or Indian goddess, wel-

tering in blood, and trampling on humanity; she is a meek, a gentle, and devoted virgin, to whom the Queen of Heaven, in whom she believed, had often appeared in her dreams, bidding her to gird on her armour, and bear her banner before the hosts of France, until the foe be expelled. This she thought her heavenly mission, and this mission she accomplished. Once, indeed, she seems to falter. The work of blood disgusts the maiden, when an English prisoner, the youthful Lionel, should have died by her hands, as many had done before. A womanly sympathy steals over her heart, and for a moment the touch of mortal affection seems to enter her martial breast; it is but for a moment. After a brief struggle of conflicting emotions, Joan returns to her self-imposed task. Yet she is conscious that her doom is near; the cruel imputations of some of her own friends contribute to damp her spirits. Her father, Thibaut, had come into the camp, and accused her of witchcraft. Johanna hears the charge in dumb silence, and determines to seek her death in battle. With this last event Schiller's tragedy ends, though he lets his heroine die under circumstances different from those found in history. The ignominious execution of the maid did not suit the laws of tragic justice, and would have given too violent a shock to the feelings of a theatrical audience. The poet, therefore, determined to let his Johanna die from wounds received in battle, after a feat of superhuman valour, as she suddenly breaks her prison chains in the English camp, and rescues her king from imminent danger.

The "Bride of Messina" was an attempt to reproduce the Greek style on the German stage. It has a chorus, and a fatalistic plot, not unlike the King Oedipus of Sophocles. Like most of Schiller's later compositions, it is distinguished by the gorgeous beauty of its diction. The choral odes inserted in it rather depart from their

ancient type, especially as there are two choruses; but, though so far the attempt was unsuccessful, the piece is replete with beauties of a high order. The story is that of the two Sicilian brothers, who are actuated by implacable hatred of each other, and fall in love with the same maiden without knowing that she is their sister. She had been removed from the royal palace by her mother, and was educated in a retired place, because it had been prophesied that she would prove a cause of discord and destruction to the princes of Messina; but no sooner is she discovered by the two brothers than she excites in each a similar flame, and their old jealousy breaks out with redoubled fury. One is killed by the other, who in the end lays violent hands on himself.

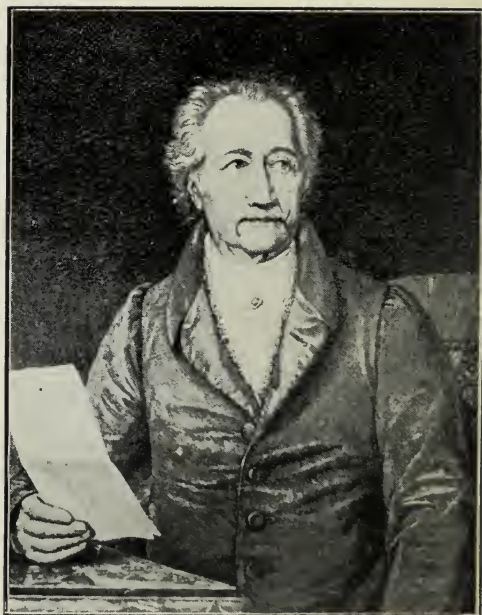
“William Tell” is not only the latest, but the best production of Schiller, though many prefer his “Wallenstein.” The subject of this drama is the struggle of the Swiss against their Austrian oppressors, and their final deliverance from a foreign yoke. Few tragedies can show a more happy blending of history with poetic invention. The sources from which Schiller drew his information were the chronicle of Tschudi, and the history of J. von Müller. The majority of the traits and incidents of the drama can be traced back to either or both of these authors. We are from the outset transferred to the scenery of the Alps—to the lakes, the chamois, the shepherds, and the huntsmen of Switzerland; and this topographical fidelity, clad in such charming colours, is the more wonderful, as Schiller was a perfect stranger to the scenes which he describes. We are delighted also with true pictures of old Swiss manners—of the piety, simplicity, and heroism of this sturdy race, of their indomitable courage in defence of freedom, and their bold self-devotion in resisting the injustice of their tyrants. The daring exploits of Tell, the erection as well as the final demolition of the state

prison in Uri, the blinding of Old Meleththal, the conspiracy on the Rütli, the encounter of Tell with Gessler, the deaths of the three governors, and the appearance of the parricide who slew the emperor, are all grand and masterly scenes. We should not like to miss any one of them, nor can we pronounce a single one irrelevant to the plot of the tragedy. Some critics, indeed, have held the contrary opinion, and would strike out one-half of these scenes, as extraneous to the story of William Tell. But we have no hesitation in asserting that Schiller understood the principles of his dramatic art much better than these critics. It is a fatal mistake to measure Schiller's political drama by the standard of the Shakesperian stage-art, and to forget that the German theatre, from its radical difference in kind and design, cannot possibly accommodate itself to the restrictions of those tragedies which merely dramatize individual achievement. The struggle of a people against its oppressors is an eminently dramatic motive; but to represent it well on the theatre, a wider range and a more extensive economy must be allowed to the poet who undertakes its delineation than is allotted to scenic exhibitions of mere private exploits. Let us for a moment suppose Schiller had acted upon the suggestion of these critics, and had introduced his "William Tell" in the more isolated attitude of a Shakesperian hero. The result would have been alike fatal to the poetic effect, and repugnant to the historic truth of his story. His tragedy would have dwindled down to the proportions of a bloody fray between a huntsman and his magistrate. The grand spectacle of the popular rising would have been lost sight of. The triumph of the national cause would have been obliterated by a secondary private squabble; and, to crown the absurdity of such a performance, Schiller would have either suppressed the political significance of Tell's

heroism, or else misrepresented him as the accidental deliverer of an indifferent and apathetic population.

Among the unfinished works of Schiller, the fragment of the "History of the false Demetrius," is the most remarkable. Its first Act, representing a session of the Polish Diet, is one of the most masterly scenes ever produced by dramatic poetry.

Schiller's Minor Poems.—Of the lyrical compositions of the German master, none is more renowned than "The Song of the Bell," which alone would have sufficed to immortalize his name. This poem sings of the great drama of life, and the thoughts are suggested by the casting of a bell. As church bells are conventionally connected with every scene and stage of human existence, so they have ever proved a fruitful theme for lyrical poetry; they herald the birth of man, they peal in joyous tones at his wedding, and, when the last scene of life concludes, they toll his epilogue. They also call the congregation, they give warning of a fire, they sound in times of war, and they are pulled by the hands of an insurgent mob. These ideas have been expressed by Schiller with an art and a talent which will make his song for ever a favourite piece with all who relish the poetical aspects of life. A similarly philosophical poem is "The Walk," which expresses in elegiacs the meditations of the poet while strolling on a country highroad. Here the progress of the human race is his theme, as in the preceding poem it was the lot and history of the single man. The rural cottage, the turreted town, the churchyard epitaph, the busy factory, and the thronged port, awaken in the poet a series of reflections on the pursuits of mankind and the stages of their social progress. Schiller's "Pilgrim" expresses beautifully the longings of his soul for happiness and virtue, and tells in mournful accents his regret that both are so imperfectly realized on earth. His "Three



J. W GOETHE.

(p. 141.)

Words of Faith" gives us some insight into the poet's religious opinions, which, if not strictly orthodox, were yet those of a devout and earnest mind. Nor must we forget to mention his stirring ballads, the true household poetry of the German nation. It almost exceeds belief what a degree of popularity these ballads have attained among the countrymen of Schiller. The punster and the gazetteer, the schoolboy and the orator, the actor and the drawing-room critic, all know by heart and quote their immortal lines. Dramatic and truly heroic action, vivid descriptions, fervid feeling and glowing passion, are their distinguishing traits. The most remarkable are "The Diver," "The Combat with the Dragon," "The Hostage," "Knight Toggenburg," "Hero and Leander," "The Cranes of Ibycus," and "The Walk to the Forge." With various subjects taken from history or ancient traditions, they describe the power of friendship and love, or the eternal compensations of the moral law, which ever avenges the wrong, and saves the innocent.

CHAPTER IX.

FOURTH PERIOD—THE CLASSICAL ERA—GOETHE.

Life of Goethe.—Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) was a native of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, and son of an imperial councillor in easy circumstances. From the earliest infancy he gave many indications of a keen and precocious intellect, and entered at seventeen on his collegiate studies at Leipzig, where Gottsched, Ernesti, and Gellert were then still in the apogee of their glory. Young Goethe soon wearied of logic and jurisprudence, and turned his attention chiefly to the fine arts, chemistry, and botany.

But even such favourite pursuits could not equal in attraction the charms of certain lady friends of his acquaintance ; and, to tell briefly the story of his life, Goethe—peace be with his ashes—was from eighteen to eighty a fickle admirer of the fair ; and “ O mutata fidem ! ” is the irresistible reflection suggested to the biographer who glances at each successive period of his earthly being. The first on the list was Kätchen (or Anna) Schönkopf. She parted with the poet, after but little heart-breaking, to marry a physician. Our young Adonis, taking it very much to heart, left Leipzig, idled, became ill, lingered at home, and then resumed his studies in another university. He went to Strasburg, which was then a French town, inhabited by Germans. Here he met Herder, who was detained in the city by an attack of ophthalmia. One or two more passing attachments soon effaced every recollection of the first. The last was formed with Frederika, the daughter of pastor Brion of Sesenheim, a village north of Strasburg. Fortunately these flirtations did not interfere with the progress of his studies ; for in 1771 he took his degree as Licentiate of Laws, and returned home to his parents. During the next four years, which coincided with the “ Sturm und Drang ” period of German Literature, Goethe established his reputation as an author. He composed, partly at Frankfurt, partly at Wetzlar, a drama, entitled “ Götz von Berlichingen, surnamed Ironhand,” in which he delineated, with broad outline and historic colouring, the turbulent conduct of an old German baron, who carried his knightly malpractices to such an extent that his emperor and his more powerful neighbours were compelled to imprison him, after a desperate struggle, and would have executed him for his turbulence, had not their sentence been anticipated by his timely death. This drama appeared in 1773, and thus was later than Lessing’s “ Minna ” by ten years, while it preceded Schiller’s first tragedy by eight.

The extraordinary applause with which it was greeted by the public is not so much due to the high merits of the production itself, as to the circumstance that it was the first attempt at dramatizing incidents and characters of German history. In the person of Götz the ancient Ritter seemed to rise from their grave; and the gorgeous display of mock heroism and mediæval pageantry with which he was surrounded reminded the Germans of their brilliant ancestry. Hence the play was followed by numerous imitations; chivalrous novels and dramas flooded the market for several years. In the meantime Goethe, who had accepted an engagement at the Reichskammergericht at Wetzlar, came out with a new book of a totally different character. This was his sentimental novel, "The Sorrows of Werther." It told, under the fictitious name of Werther, the misfortunes of a young man, whose real name was Jerusalem, and whose suicide, in consequence of an unsuccessful passion for a young lady, who became the wife of another, caused at that time considerable sensation. Goethe's account suppresses several circumstances which prompted this act, and substitutes others which were borrowed from his own life at Wetzlar. Notably this is the case with the part of the cruel fair one of the story. As such Goethe represented, with all except her true family-name, a lady-friend of his, whom he then warmly admired. She was the eldest daughter of a respectable widower, an official in the town; her maiden name was Charlotte Buff, and she became engaged, while Goethe knew her, to a Mr. Kestner, whom she married in the course of the year. During his visits to her father's house, Goethe had often witnessed her affectionate care for her younger brothers and sisters; hence the famous incident of the novel, selected by Kaulbach for one of his pictures, which represents Lottchen in the naïve attitude of cutting bread and butter

for the Buff family. In drawing this character, and describing Lottchen's treatment of her two admirers, the successful as well as the unsuccessful, and also the consequent jealousy of the two rivals, Goethe largely drew on his own experience. He was thus enabled to complete the tale of Werther—an epistolary novel containing the story and confessions of Jerusalem before he ended his life by shooting himself with the pistols of his friend and rival. It happened that at that time sentimental novels were quite the fashion, and consequently the "Sorrows of Werther" became the rage of the day to an unprecedented degree. The ladies pitied his fate, and shed tears over his story. The lovers sighed à la Werther, and contemplated blowing out their brains so soon as their affections should be crossed. A parody was published of it, by the bookseller Nicolai, calling itself: "Die Freuden des jungen Werther," and giving such a version of the story as would have concluded it without the necessity of resorting to suicide. The book was also translated into French and English. Meanwhile the author of this literary excitement professed to smile at the sensation he had produced. He treated it as a mere *jeu d'esprit*, which none but fools could mistake for a serious commendation of the *radical cure system*. The sensation about "Werther" had not yet subsided, when Goethe appeared with a new production. He discovered a new style just as easily as he discovered a new mistress. The species of composition he now lighted upon was common-life tragedy. "Clavigo," and shortly after "Stella," belong to this period of his life. The former was founded on an event of contemporary history, and gathered from a French *mémoire*. Clavigo, or rather Clavijo, was a young spanish author in Madrid. He had courted and subsequently deserted a French lady living there, who was sister to the comic poet, Beaumarchais. The latter had expostulated with Clavijo

on his faithlessness; and, hurrying from Paris to the Spanish capital, had fought a duel with the traitor, and wounded him. Not satisfied with this revenge, Beaumarchais had disgraced Clavijo publicly at court, and procured his dismissal from a lucrative post. On these facts Goethe founds his tragedy of "Clavijo." But to render the *dénouement* more tragic, he lets Marie die of a broken heart; Clavijo comes in accidentally at her funeral, and Beaumarchais kills him over her coffin. The play thus describes a funeral turning into a duelling scene, and an Ophelia with a Hamlet killed by a Laertes. The tragedy of "Stella" is another disappointed love story, in which a most amiable husband suddenly turns out to be but a cold-hearted bigamist, and a cruel deceiver of his loving wife. It was fortunate that Goethe abandoned this style of writing, as neither its theme nor its execution can command any high admiration. But we must pursue the thread of his own story, in which there comes now a change to a different kind of life. The author of "Werther" resided at that time chiefly at Frankfurt, with his parents. Here he paid marked attention to the daughter of a wealthy banker, whose name was Schöne-mann. When the courtship between him and Lili (for that was her pet name) had lasted some months, and led to an engagement, it was broken off, for reasons not precisely known. The poet was then a young man of twenty-six, and possessed of extraordinary beauty; perhaps the very circumstance that he found himself so universally acknowledged as the favourite of the fair, as well as the pride of his parents, and the beau of the city, contributed to make him more supercilious in his admiration for others. It happened that just in that year the young Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar came through Frankfurt, on his way home with his newly-wedded bride, a princess of Hessen-Darmstadt. This prince had previously seen

Goethe, and entertained a high opinion of his talents as an author. As he felt the want of intellectual society at his petty court, and was captivated with Goethe's manners, personal appearance, and literary fame, he proposed to the poet to pay him a visit in Weimar; and after a temporary sojourn in his capital, he induced him to stay altogether. Thus, from 1775 down to his death, in 1832, Goethe resided in the vicinity of the ducal palace, either in the garden-house of the Weimar park, or, since June, 1783, in a private mansion in the Frauenplan, a street of Weimar. He stood to his patron in the relation of a friend, rather than a dependent; for Goethe drew from the ducal coffers only a salary of between 1200 and 1400 thalers, in compensation for his services as a councillor or minister of state, while he possessed a much larger income from his private resources. As his duties were not arduous, we might have expected that Goethe would now have devoted increased attention to his literary labours; but quite the reverse was the case. For the space of nearly eleven years he published nothing; he either travelled with the duke or discharged his official duties, or he amused himself in the company of Frau von Stein, the divorced wife of a gentleman of the Weimar court, who fascinated the poet by her elegant manners, her beauty, and her accomplishments. It was not until after his Italian travels, between 1786 and 1788, that Goethe was aroused from his lethargy, perhaps, by the triumphs and rising fame of Schiller. During and after this journey, he published his best works, the sketches of which had long been lying in his desk. The tragedies of "Iphigenia," "Egmont," and "Tasso" were now either retouched, or the wanting portions of their text completed. After having spent two years in Italy, chiefly in Rome and in Naples, he also gave to the world, in 1790, his greatest work—the first part of "Faust," though only as a "fragment," for several scenes were

withheld, and not published until eighteen years afterwards. Subsequently his genius employed itself also in novels, of which the most noteworthy is "The Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister," setting forth the education of the ideal artist, and continued afterwards in "Meister's Years of Travel." The interest of these novels does not consist in their narrative, since the stories contained in them are but very subordinate. What they really do contain is Goethe's views on a variety of topics, such as the theatre, education, the female character, and the functions and destinies of man and woman; all these are considered from an artistic and intellectual, rather than a moral point of view. The stage-player Meister is usually the vehicle of the author's own opinions on these subjects. He is an enthusiastic actor, but at last abjures the histrionic profession as below his dignity. Still he cannot make up his mind to any other vocation, and vacillates in the choice of an occupation, just as he wavers in his choice of a partner for life. Among the female characters of the novel, the most interesting is Mignon, a devoted, earnest, and ethereal child, born in Italy, and ever longing for the country of her birth. It is she who sings the famous lines: "Kennst du das Land, wo die Citronen blühen?" which suggested to Lord Byron the two opening lines of the "Bride of Abydos," and which Beethoven set to music. Mignon knew not who were her parents, and an unexplained mystery shrouds her descent in darkness. When she is dead, the veil is lifted, and her friends discover, to their horror, that she was the offspring of an unnatural marriage.

In the year 1792 Goethe made a military campaign. The Austrians and Prussians were invading France, in order to assist or restore the dethroned Louis XVI. As the troops of Weimar joined those of Prussia, Goethe accompanied the Grand Duke in the rear of the allied army. The expedition procured him neither amusement

nor glory, and he was glad to go back, in order to finish his witty fable of "Reineke the Fox." Soon after commenced his intimacy with Schiller. The two poets often consulted each other on the plan and probable effect of their literary works, and also contributed to the two journals which they jointly edited. In one of these, the "Musen-Almanach," appeared, in 1796, some two or three hundred biting epigrams on contemporary writers, known by the name of *Xenia* (or presents to guests), which drew on them the anger of the whole press of Germany. On the subsidence of this storm—the so-called "Xenien-Sturm"—they turned (1797) to ballad-poetry, and to their friendly rivalry in this field Germany owes the greater part of her store of ballads. Goethe also began about this time to remodel the first part of his "Faust," and wrote the charming pastoral, "Hermann und Dorothea." Whatever was written by him subsequently to this shows a decided decline in clearness and vigour, and a leaning to oriental mysticism. Neither his contributions to optics and botany, nor his singular novel, on wedded life, called "Elective Affinities" (1809), nor his Autobiography (1811-1831), are at all comparable, in their literary value, to his earlier writings. This tendency to obscurity of thought and diction is most discernible in the three works which are the products of his latest years—the "West-östliche Divan," an endeavour to blend German sentiment with the imagery of the East, the "Wanderjahre" of W. Meister, a loosely-connected series of tales; and, above all, in the second part of Faust. The author's mind was much harassed during the earlier years of the century by both domestic and political calamities. Schiller had died in 1805; and Goethe, nearly a sexagenarian, was much distressed at seeing himself without genial society at home, as well as without a recognised sharer of his household. Frau von Stein still smiled on

him, but she could never be more to him than a friend, and was now more than seventy. Great, then, was the surprise of the public when, in the midst of the turmoil of the Prusso-French campaign, while the battle of Jena was raging at a distance of but fifteen miles, and as the roar of cannon announced to the Weimarese one of the most disastrous days of their fatherland, Goethe, the ducal councillor and the poet courtier, suddenly abjured celibacy, and married his housekeeper, Christiana Vulpius. The circumstances which led to this act need not be detailed here? They must have been of a nature to make Goethe regret his fastidiousness, which prevented him from entering on the matrimonial tie in an earlier stage of his life. A few days before this event the French had broken into the city. The duke had fled, and the soldiery plundered the castle, and burned one-half of the town; even Goethe's house was visited by a few French soldiers, who helped themselves politely to his wine and other commodities. Not long after, the peace of Tilsit restored tranquillity; and in 1808 Napoleon held at Erfurt a great meeting with the Czar, and several German princes. Among others the Grand Duke, and subsequently Goethe, were introduced to the Emperor of the French. Napoleon conversed with Goethe for fully an hour, and during their conversation questioned him about a passage in his "Werther." A few days after he even paid a visit to Weimar, when a ball was given in the ducal palace, and both Goethe and Wieland received some French decorations. This time was one of particular gloom for the social circle of Weimar no less than for the rest of Germany. Goethe had resigned his functions as a counsellor, probably because he saw his patron's treasury too exhausted to pay for any but the most necessary services. It was not until some time after the battle of Leipzig, when the French were totally expelled from

Germany, that Goethe resumed his former post. In 1816 he became Prime Minister of Saxe-Weimar, and retained that office till his death. For the last sixteen years of his life he enjoyed unclouded happiness. Praise and compliments were showered on him by both high and low. The excessive admiration paid to Goethe may to some extent excuse the occasional assumption which became observable in his conduct. His wife had died in 1816; and his daughter-in-law, Ottilie, presided over his household, cheering his age by her care, and welcoming visitors who flocked to the Frauenplan. He employed two secretaries to carry on his correspondence. One was Eckermann who had in 1823 come to Weimar, to solicit the honour of that post. This led to the publication of "Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe," in 1837. Goethe's correspondence with Carlyle began in 1824, when Carlyle sent a copy of his "Life of Schiller." In 1831 fifteen English admirers of Goethe, at the instigation of Carlyle, sent to Weimar a birthday present, with a letter, in which they addressed Goethe as their "spiritual teacher." In 1828 the Grand Duke went to his rest, and four years after, the illustrious author followed him.

It is no easy task to appreciate duly either the character or the writings of a man like Goethe; and the brevity of the present sketch only increases the danger of saying either too much or too little on this head. All are agreed that Goethe was a gentleman of the most polished manners, a thinker of the highest order, and a profound critic of works of art. Notwithstanding the faults with which he has been taxed—such as an undue self-complacency in social intercourse, too much indifference to public questions and politics, and fickleness or irresolution in his dealings with women—one fact is quite undeniable, that he produced an extraordinary impression wherever he appeared. The veneration with which he was treated,

not only by Germans but also by strangers, can only be explained on the supposition that, in addition to his literary endowments, he was a person of highly prepossessing and truly dazzling qualifications both of mind and body. At present, when the generation of those who knew him personally has died out, Goethe's fame must rest exclusively on his merits as a writer. These merits are high enough to secure him a lasting place in the memory of future ages, even after the impression of his person has faded away. The distinguishing feature of his writings is their great originality, and the amount of true and profound observations which they contain. His calm, philosophic mind was peculiarly impressionable; and it combined with great capacity for analysis a great talent for rendering and communicating any impressions which it had received. However, in both the physical and the moral world Goethe selected for his observation certain favourite phenomena, namely, those of a simple embryonic or elementary character; while he seldom entered into the more compound, the practical, or fully developed features of either. Just as his scientific labours were engaged in analyzing vegetation, colours, or chemical substances, whereas they left the real and complex machinery of life and nature quite untouched; so in his novels, lyrics, and dramas, he traced the effect of instinct in the actions of mankind, to the exclusion of the effects of matured will and reason. Goethe's writings offer profound remarks on all that is most naïve, most original, and most unaffected in the amorous, the religious, the speculative, and the artistic propensities of man. He aimed not so much at improving his contemporaries by stern lessons of morality but rather at refining them by cultivating their tastes, and raising them to a better appreciation of the beautiful. Beauty with Goethe meant nature, undisguised, unvarnished, and pure. Hence he applied himself especially

to decipher our spontaneous likings and dislikes ; he often drew pictures of uncontrolled inclinations, as in his "Werther" and in his "Faust" ; and he noted with predilection those hidden and unsophisticated traits which spring with native force from the innermost recesses of the soul, before yet fashion and interest, calculation or social prescription, have exerted their influence. As Goethe pre-eminently observed the force of instinct, he touched less than Schiller on the public spheres of life. The manlier and maturer passions are, on the whole, less his forte. The same poet who described the aspirations of the scholar, or the ravings of a love-sick youth—who told the disappointments of the idealising artist, or the simplicity of an innocent maiden—could not also describe the natural history of the coarser passions, relate the strife of public factions, or the toils of ambition, descant on the collision of duty and private advantage, or follow up the success or failure of any of the more practical aspirations of man. This has had the effect of depriving Goethe's novels and dramas of much of the stirring action which they might otherwise have possessed, and has caused that prevalence of the lyrical and pathetic over the purely dramatic or narrative element which is observable in almost all his works. Still they offer a sufficient harvest of beauty and originality to place his name in the front rank of the master minds of all nations and ages. In G. H. Lewes, Goethe has found a biographer who dealt lightly with his faults as a man, but severely with his faults as an author. Among the numerous German contributions to the subject we may mention the "Vorlesungen" on Goethe by Hermann Grimm (1877), and Karl Heine-mann's biography of Goethe (1895).

Goethe's Drama.—The two short plays, "Die Laune des Verliebten" (Lover's Quarrels), and "Die Mitschuldigen" (Fellow-Sinners), are interesting, as Goethe's first

juvenile attempts at dramatic composition. They date from the year 1766, when the poet was a student at Leipzig.

The first important tragedy, composed in his twenty-fourth year, was written at a time when the German stage was still in its infancy, and when, with the exception of "Minna von Barnhelm," not a single play of any merit had yet appeared before the public. The new rules on dramatic art had, however, just been propounded by Lessing in his "Dramaturgie," and the first performance of Goethe illustrated, in many respects, the laws laid down by that great critic. Among other excellent observations, Lessing had asserted that a dramatic poet was likely to succeed best when he chose his heroes among the ancestors of his own nation; and Goethe was probably acting on this advice when he determined to select a Franconian knight of the beginning of the sixteenth century as the subject of his historico-political drama of "Götz." The tragedy was intended to set before the spectator the evil consequences of feudal turbulence, as exemplified in the conduct and fate of this knight. There is a memoir of Götz, or Gottfried von Berlichingen, written by himself; and from what we can gather from this and other sources, he must have been a true specimen of a quarrelsome, fighting baron, in the Robin Hood style. His contemporaries gave him the surname of Iron-hand, because he had lost his right hand in battle, and wore in the place of it a metal glove, which he could use almost as though it had been a hand of flesh and bone. Götz was constantly at variance with his neighbours; either he besieged them, or else they besieged him. He seldom left the saddle, only sleeping when he was beleaguered, and then only in full armour. With his impulsive vehemence and pugnacious propensities he combined many excellent qualities, such as uprightness and veracity, affection for his family,

devotion to his friends, kindness to his inferiors, and a certain degree of loyalty to his emperor. But woe to the traveller who crossed his path at the wrong hour, or to the imprudent one who had incensed his anger! No town, no road, no private demesne was secure from his invasions. The tragedy opens with preparations for waylaying, in Haslach forest, a knight of the neighbourhood—Weislingen by name—who is carried off to Jaxthausen, the castle, or rather the den, of the nightly robber. In the progress of the tragedy Götz commits another atrocious outrage. Thirty Nürnberg merchants, subjects of another prelate—the bishop of Mayence—come home from Leipzig fair. Götz waylays the merchants; and as they offer a stout resistance to save their lives and their property, he maims two of them in a frightful manner. This act, however, was more than, even in those lawless times, the people could brook. The two mutilated merchants carry their complaint before the Emperor Maximilian, who feels himself compelled to outlaw the baron, and pronounces over him the ban of the empire. A troop of soldiers is sent against him, but Götz meets them in a pitched battle, defeats the messengers of justice, and only surrenders, after a desperate siege, to a three times larger number of assailants. Next, Götz is tried at Heilbronn by the imperial town councillors; but with characteristic impetuosity he first defies, then threatens, and at last actually assaults his judges. He would have paid dearly for his conduct, had not, just in that moment, a brother knight and friend of Götz broken into the town-hall, and once more set free his boisterous comrade; but this respite could only be of short duration. Though Götz throws himself into the arms of the insurgent gipsies and peasants, he is finally seized, and once more lodged in Heilbronn gaol; his faithful wife and sister attend him there, and console him in his last days. While the sentence of death

is hanging over his head, Götz dies in the tower, lamenting in his last words the downfall of knighthood and the suppression of the practices which he had thought the best sport of a free baron.

The next important drama of Goethe was written about thirteen years after the first, and differs so entirely from it, that one should hardly believe them to be the work of the same author. "Iphigenia in Tauris" is an imitation of Greek tragedy, and proposes to revive, in form, plot, and language, the drama of Sophocles, or Euripides. The subject is the well-known story of Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, who, during her residence among the Scythians of the Tauric Chersonese, was accidentally visited by Orestes and Pylades, and disobeyed the order she had received of offering them as a sacrifice to Diana; thereby she got into difficulties with the king of the country, but yet finally succeeded in escaping with her friends from the land of the strangers. In this attempted revival of the Grecian style, Goethe made it his principal care to give a dignified picture of the noble self-devotion of Iphigenia. As she had done before at the sacrifice in Aulis, the young priestess exposes again her life and future, for the sake of her family ties and her religious duties. She declines the marriage proposals of the Scythian chieftain, braves his anger when commanded to slaughter her brother, and finally obtains from the king, by her prayers, both Orestes' and her own deliverance. The opinions of the critics are divided as to the success of the experiment of reviving the antique. Schlegel pronounced the imitation a good one, and sustained his criticism by pointing to the observation of the rule of the three unities, to the dignified tone of the dialogue, to the simplicity of the plot, and the many traits of ancient manners, the Greek mythology and the Greek religion, found in the tragedy. His judgment was first called

into question by Monsieur Patin, a French writer on the Greek drama, who compared Goethe's "Iphigenia" with that of Euripides, and impugned the antique character of the German tragedy. The same side was latterly taken by G. H. Lewes, who stigmatized the work of Goethe as a failure so far as it professed to imitate the antique, but had no objection to call it a thoroughly German drama of a tolerable degree of merit. That "Iphigenia" was even in Goethe's opinion no *complete* imitation of classical tragedy, the absence of the Greek chorus would be sufficient to prove; but Lewes extends his remarks much further; he finds fault with the work of Goethe for the deficiency of stirring incidents, the want of action and conflicting passions, the too moralizing tone of the discourse, and the too humane and Christian-like motives put into the mouths, not only of the Greek priestess, but the ferocious Scythian. Some of these reproaches are just, while others are exaggerated.

Goethe's "Egmont" is a tragedy conceived in the style of Schiller, but distinguished chiefly, not by pictures of public virtue, but by more homely scenes of a deep and moving pathos. The subject is the martyrdom of the Dutch Count who was executed by Duke Alba for having countenanced Protestantism and popular agitation. The hero is, however, principally brought forward in his private, and not so much in his political capacity. In order the more strongly to excite our compassion for the victim of Spanish tyranny, the poet represents Egmont in the full enjoyment of every pleasure and blessing which can lend life a charm. He is the idol of the populace; he is possessed of wealth, rank, and beauty; his heart is swelled by an overweening confidence in his own security; he is in the prime of manhood, and the object of an enthusiastic love on the part of Clara, or Clärchen, a burgher's daughter, who rejected the addresses of another suitor,

in favour of Egmont. But all these earthly possessions serve only to give greater poignancy to the bitterness of his fall ; the storm gathers imperceptibly, while the victim does not heed it. The mild government of Marguerite of Parma is superseded by the cruel administration of Alba, and yet Egmont makes no preparation for quitting Brussels. The prudent Orange warns him of his danger, and conjures him to fly ; but the infatuated man still lingers on the brink of the abyss. At last comes the scene of his arrest. The Spanish governor treacherously decoys him into his palace, and converses with him in a tone of deep dissimulation, while the antechamber is filling with his armed satellites. When the moment arrives, he provokes the resentment of the Dutch Count. The other becomes impatient, and rises to take his leave, when, on a sudden, the soldiers bar his passage, and, with a sigh for Orange and his counsels, the patriot surrenders his sword, and is hurried off to his dungeon. At the news of this disaster consternation reigns throughout the city. A black scaffold is seen being erected on the market-place, and the report gains ground that it presages the execution of the public favourite. At the sight of such horrors, the agonized soul of Clärchen rouses itself to deeds of heroism. Accompanied by Brackenburch, her old suitor, who would not leave her, she rushes through the town, and calls the people to arms. But the bayonets of Alba's soldiery awe the populace, and in a fit of utter despair she commits self-destruction. The last scene shows Egmont lying in a trance. He beholds Clara, his departed friend, raised to heaven as the genius of liberty ; he then awakes and is led off to the scaffold. Such is an outline of this tragedy, which combines extraordinary pathos in several of its scenes with a feeble *dénouement* and defective technical and scenic arrangements.

Goethe's "Tasso" represents the author of "Gerusalemme Liberata," while engaged in an unsuccessful love-affair with the sister of his patron and duke. At the court of Alphonso of Ferrara, where he lived, Torquato Tasso is made to feel that, notwithstanding the high distinctions heaped on him, an insuperable barrier separates him from the family of his sovereign. Antonio, a prudent minister of state, intimates to the court-poet that he ought not to misinterpret the extravagant praises bestowed on his poetry by the Princess Leonora. Stung by his remarks, Tasso challenges the councillor; but the interference of the duke compels him to sheathe his sword. After considerable displays of eloquence and feeling on the part of all concerned, it is agreed that Tasso shall leave Ferrara, and sigh abroad for the princely prize he coveted. He yields, with the proud conviction that the poet's laurel which graces his brow will conceal and overshadow the traces of his unrequited affection. This drama, if so we can call a succession of smoothly versified dialogues, is peculiarly wanting in action; but, though devoid of stirring incidents in its plot, it is a masterly and interesting picture of character. It describes a situation, with which Goethe through his life in Weimar, was pre-eminently acquainted, namely, the lot of a poet residing at a small court, and patronised by a prince.

The greatest monument of Goethe's genius is his "Faust," which was sketched as early as 1774, published in part in 1790, remodelled between 1797 and 1808, and completed in 1831. This tragedy is founded on the old legend, according to which Dr. Faust, desirous to penetrate the mysteries of the supernatural world, gave up his soul to the devil, who visited him in the shape of a black dog (see page 77). Out of this popular tradition Goethe has made a tragedy full of meaning and interest, although it does

not keep within the ordinary functions and limits of a drama. He modernized the friar of the legend into a Professor of a German University of his own time, and ascribed to him thoughts and motives which are likely to be met with in a modern *savant*. The part of the Tempter he personified in the cynical satirist, Mephistopheles, whom he surrounded with a retinue of witches, spirits, and demons, from the ancient German mythology. The play opens with a prelude, of which the scene is in heaven, and where, in the usual manner of the old Easter plays, the temptation of Faust is resolved upon. The devil obtains leave from the Almighty to pervert that mortal from the path of virtue. Next we are introduced to the study of the doctor, who presents the image of a very learned, but a very unhappy man. From his soliloquies the several causes of his discontent gradually transpire. Faust is leading a lonely bachelor's life in the prison walls of his college cell; besides, he is dissatisfied with his vocation, because it forces him to teach things which he does not understand—to proclaim as the truth a shallow counterfeit, a mere mockery of knowledge invented only to hide its own emptiness, and distasteful to the teacher himself. He feels that knowledge, even when real, cannot bestow happiness, and that he has wasted the best years of his life in acquiring intellectual treasures which now lie vain and profitless. He, therefore, longs to discover some other path to satisfaction, and turns for aid to the world of magic with which he had been made familiar by the writings of Nostrodamus. Thus the character of Faust displays the opposition between the love of knowledge and the thirst for pleasure, and his story shows that disappointment in the search for one will often lead to an all the more unrestrained pursuit of the other.

In this frame of mind Faust, one Easter morning, takes

a walk with Wagner, a college friend. While exhibiting to his companion the doubts which were then harassing his mind, he notices a black poodle dog approaching. The animal wheels around them, and continues to approach in closer and yet closer orbits. Sparks of fire are seen to mark his footsteps; and when at last he has come near to the astonished pair, he crouches at the feet of Faust, whines, extends his paws, and thus fawningly acknowledges him for his master. Faust's dull companion can see in him nothing but a common dog, "as other dogs there be"; but he himself, being deeply versed in magic, detects, under the poodle's shaggy coat, something supernatural. He takes the animal home, shuts him in his study, and tries on him all the arts which the ancient sorcerer Nostradamus recommends in such cases. Soon the dog changes his form; he assumes several portentous shapes, till at length, from behind the stove, with a gracious bow, out steps Mephistopheles. "Wherefore this fuss?—what do you, sir, command?" says he to Faust, who, with curiosity, examines his skeleton form and cloven foot. Thus commences Faust's acquaintance with the devil; the bond is sealed, and in his own blood he signs away his soul, on condition that Mephistopheles shall procure him every earthly gratification, and all the joys of body or soul which he may wish for. Accordingly, Faust is made young again by a magic draught; and, bidding a long farewell to books and crucibles, he starts upon his adventures, attended by his new companion. Neither moral scruple, nor a wish for repose, can stay his onward progress; he longs for the recreations which he had so long abjured; and as the former overstraining of his intellectual faculties had failed to give him happiness, he is prepared to seek it elsewhere, even though it be in the pursuit of sensual gratification.

First they fall among a band of gay, young, reckless students, whom the poet has depicted with somewhat stronger colouring than really belongs to the German academicians. They sit together in Auerbach's cellar, at Leipzig, and think of nothing but drinking, quizzing, rioting, duelling, and dissipation. Tiring of their boisterous merriment, Faust is led to encounter the witches, who compound for him a love-philter, by drinking which he becomes enamoured with a beauteous maid, whose image rises before his eye. The fair form thus represented then meets him in person; this is Marguerite, or Gretchen, the heroine of the most affecting episode of the tragedy. We shall not enter into the details of their love adventure, especially as they are so commonly known. The passion of Faust is vehement and brief; and even before it has quite subsided he craves again for other enjoyments. At one time he visits with Mephistopheles the Blocksberg, the fabulous resort of the denizens of Fairyland; at another he resumes his botanical studies. There are moments when he rues his bargain with the devil, and vents his deep despair on his sneering companion. The death of Gretchen concludes the first part of the tragedy.

The second part is but a feeble composition; it contains Faust's adventures in the domain of science, art, court life, and politics. The story is obscured by the introduction of allegorical and symbolical characters; written when Goethe was eighty-two years old, it shows throughout that the clearness of view which the author possessed in his younger years had totally abandoned him in his old age, as but seldom a passable scene, or even a rational dramatic dialogue, is offered to the reader who has patience enough to look for them. Attempts have, however, been made by commentators to find their way through the labyrinth, but with doubtful success. At the end Faust expires, while engaged in drying up marshes and digging a harbour. Mephi-

stopheles seizes his prey, and wishes to enforce the contract on which he had lent his services ; but the angelic hosts appear, and carry off Faust to heaven, where he meets Gretchen, and is absorbed in supernatural beatitude.

Thus ends the greatest composition of Goethe, a succession of dramatic or semi-dramatic scenes of the most opposite degrees of merit. The palpable weakness, not to say the absurdity of the more visionary portions of part ii., seems to indicate that Goethe's imagination got bewildered by the supernatural element of his subject ; and his inability to master the miraculous part of the Faust-story was increased by the effect of age. This, however, must not blind our eyes to the fact that in the earlier portions of this work are to be found some of the highest flights of poetry and genius which the German mind has attained. The main interest of the drama centres in the character of the philosophic Sceptic, with his fretful hankering for happiness, and his never-satisfied longing for a state of life in which his moral and spiritual wants may be satisfied as well as his physical desires. The scoffing Mephistopheles, the representative of unscrupulous force and cunning, and on the other hand the sweetheart of Faust, in her simplicity and innocence, are suitable accompaniments to the main personage. Among the most remarkable scenes of the drama we may mention the Easter morning promenade, the garden scene where Faust and the devil make love side by side, the catechizing of the doctor by Gretchen, the murder of Valentine, and the prison scene which ends with the death of the heroine. Several of these passages are unsurpassed in beauty and dramatic effect ; and although the barrel-organ and the fiddle-bow have begun to assert their privilege of appropriating Goethe's conception, the lover of literature will, it is hoped, not rest content without turning to the pages of the German master, and feeling the touch of his inspired thought, which can never be more

than guessed at from any operatic or other theatrical representation.

Other Poems of Goethe.—Among Goethe's longer non-dramatic compositions the pastoral of "Hermann und Dorothea" is the most distinguished. It relates in hexameter verse, and in nine short cantos, an incident of domestic life on the Rhine, and is connected with a contemporary event—the expulsion of some hundred Alsacian families from the soil of Republican France, about the year 1795. Hermann, the son of an inn-keeper in a village near the Rhine, observes the Alsacian emigrants proceeding in a long train from their former homes in France into the interior of Germany, to look for shelter and other habitations. While distributing presents and charities to his unfortunate countrymen, his attention is attracted by a tall and beautiful maiden, who walks in front of the cart which contained her less active friends and their chattels. Love with him sprang up where, they say, it often arises—in compassion. After several inquiries about Dorothea's friends, and another meeting with her by the side of a cool streamlet on the road, Hermann feels his former impressions confirmed, and selects her for his bride. He takes her home to his parents, whom he had previously persuaded to consent to his choice. The timid maiden is well received; but as she is so poor, she fancies she is destined to become a maid-servant in her future home. Her generous admirer and his parents soon convince Dorothea that they consider her virtue and beauty superior to every other dowry, and the marriage of the happy pair concludes the poem. About the merits of the work it is enough to say that it is universally admired, and never found fault with.

"Reineke Fuchs" is a free version of the old Low-German fable of the misdemeanours, the trial, the judgment, and the escape of Reynard the $\frac{1}{2}$ Fox, who constantly

cheated and ill-used the other beasts. It contains twelve cantos in hexameter verse; the fourth is the wittiest and the best. Here the fox makes his dying speech from the top of a ladder, while the rope is all but drawn round his neck. The rogue promises King Noble to show him some treasures which are hidden at a distance, and appeals so feelingly to the compassion of the queen, that he is allowed to live. No sooner is he at liberty than, by insinuating himself at court, he recovers his standing and his influence, and finds means to take cruel revenge on his accusers.

In his minor poems, ballads, songs, odes, sonnets, and moral aphorisms, Goethe shows both originality and great fertility. As a lyrist, he is undoubtedly Schillers' superior, while as a ballad-writer he is almost his equal. His songs and philosophic short lines are of extraordinary depth and power, and more thoroughly popular in tone than the more reflective and moralizing lyrics of Schiller. The best among them are the songs in *W. Meister*, *Faust*, and *Egmont*; his "Heath Rose," his "Serenade" (*O gib vom weichen Pfühle*), his "Untreuer Knabe" (*Es war ein Knabe frech genug*), his "Wanderers' Nightsongs," his ode on the *Staubbach* (*Des Menschen Seele gleicht dem Wasser*), and his unrhymed trochaics "Das Göttliche."

The ballad became in Goethe's hands an instrument for expressing the effects of supernatural influences, and the awe inspired by the elementary forces of nature. This peculiar conception of the functions of the ballad, differing so widely from that of both Bürger and Schiller, is exemplified in his "Fisherman," "Erlking," "Treasure-Digger," "The Magician's Disciple," "The God and the Bayadere," poems which all contain a deeper symbolical meaning as well as that visible on the surface.

His numerous verse-aphorisms on God, World, and Mind, and the series of "Zahme Xenien," or "Stingless Epigrams," so called by way of contrast to the satirical

Xenia of 1796, are the worthiest fruits of Goethe's riper years. They should be passed over by no one wishing to acquaint himself with the opinions on religion and philosophy of one who undoubtedly possessed a deeper knowledge of the world of both matter and thought than any writer Europe has lately seen.

CHAPTER X.

FIFTH PERIOD—RECENT WRITERS SINCE 1805.

Character of this Period.—With the beginning of the nineteenth century the literature of Germany entered into a new phase, characterized by the introduction of polemic and political tendencies—a change which was mainly due to the effects of the French Revolution. The comparative calm of the preceding era came to a close when this social convulsion, after terrific outbursts of popular fury, subsided into a military despotism. The ascendancy which Napoleon I. exercised on the Continent had the effect of breaking down in Germany a large portion, though not the whole, of the feudal institutions which had so long existed in that country. In 1802, between two and three hundred petty princes and small republics were induced to resign their independence in favour of some forty larger states which remained standing; and four years after the Germanic Empire came to an end, after an existence of about one thousand years—the then Emperor Francis II. having abdicated his title and imperial functions for the name of Emperor of Austria. Though the wars of 1813 and 1815 put an end to French power, and Germany came forth from the struggle without the loss of any territory, the collapse of feudalism was an accomplished fact; and

on the conclusion of the treaties of Vienna, Deutschland found itself reconstituted as a confederacy of thirty-nine states, with a senate of seventeen delegates at its head. But this political compromise seemed to give no lasting satisfaction; and the German sovereigns, both great and small, soon became painfully aware that the enjoyment of their dynastic privileges was likely to be again seriously jeopardized. An opposition party formed itself from one end of the country to the other, and the desire for liberal institutions, national union, and abolition of petty governments became all but universal. This movement terminated in 1860, when the sovereigns of Prussia and Austria, yielding to the national feeling, conceded a limited form of constitutional government; German unity was finally established by the victories in the war of 1870. But the literature of the first sixty years of this century has been so powerfully influenced by domestic dissensions, that both the poetry and the prose writing of this period can only be considered from a semi-political point of view. Since the death of Schiller there was, perhaps, not a single writer who did not take one part or another in public questions; and thus the modern authors of Germany present features very analogous to those of English literature in the reigns of the latter Stuarts, when the conflicting interests of Whigs and Tories divided the British nation. The writers of the first half of the century may, then, be arranged into two large groups, with distinct party designs, defined predilections, and unmistakable antipathies.

On one side stand the advocates of Conservatism. As such we may consider the coryphees of the Romantic School—the two Schlegels, Novalis, Fouqué, Tieck, and their friends—authors who proposed a return to the spirit of feudalism as the true means of improving literature, and who cultivated especially the legendary style with success. To the same party belong the Ultra-Conserva-

tives and the Ultramontane poets, such as Redwitz, Schenkendorf, and Pyrker.

On the opposite side are arrayed the friends of liberty and progress ; some who pursued their principles with more calmness—poets of a truly patriotic and national type, such as Körner, Uhland, Rückert, and Count Platen ; others, of more republican tendencies, Radicals in politics, and usually also in religion, such as Herwegh, Freiligrath, Gutzkow, Kinkel, and Hoffmann. Among these, often the martyrs as well as the champions of reform, none approaches in talent the reckless H. Heine, who is at the same time the most violent and the most ingenious impersonation of the revolutionary party, often called “Young Germany.” The recent poets of Austria we shall treat of in a separate section, because though resembling in some points many of the writers above mentioned, they differ from all by certain national peculiarities.

1. **The Romantics.**—Few terms in the history of literature are used with a greater latitude of meaning than that of “Romanticism” or “the Romantic School.” In Germany it has of late especially been applied to the school of the Schlegels, to Tieck, Novalis, Fouqué, and others, who cultivated poetry and composition for the sake of its fictions, and not for that of the truths it may contain. Romanticism is also defined as a revival of the poetry of the Middle Ages, because it was during that period that the legendary style has chiefly flourished. The writers of this school valued fancy and invention above all other qualities of style, and therefore were especially fond of tales and ghost stories, while they seldom produced anything of a more practical character. They were Conservatives in all questions bearing on religion and politics, either because mediæval society was their *beau-ideal*, and feudalism their favourite system, or else because they carried their unpractical tendency to a total abstention from all interference

with political matters. The department in which they certainly excelled was æsthetic criticism. The Romantics had many enemies, and were often attacked with ridicule and scorn. It was not only their excessive Conservatism which invited the comments of their contemporaries, but also their mode of writing : especially their sentimentalism, their dreamy style, their fondness of the supernatural, and the unmanly lullaby tone of their Arabian Nights' tales. Their most declared enemies were Voss, Count Platen, and Ruge. H. Heine, also, though once a disciple of Schlegel, afterwards vehemently attacked them.

Aug. Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845), the greatest critic of Germany since the days of Lessing is sometimes considered the originator of Romanticism ; while others look upon his younger brother, Frederick, or on Novalis, as the real author of this school. The Schlegels were sons of an eminent Lutheran clergyman in Hanover, and lived chiefly at Jena, where they contributed to the journals of Schiller, his "Horen" and his "Musen-Almanach," and published similar journals of their own, such as the "Athenæum." The principal work of Wilhelm Schlegel is his "Lectures on Dramatic Art." In 1805 Madame de Stael availed herself of his assistance in her studies of the literature of Germany, and hence the famous book of that French authoress, "De l'Allemagne," embodies many ideas which can be traced back to Schlegel. She often travelled with him, confided to him for a time the education of her children, and often received him as a visitor on her estate of Coppet. Shortly after the death of Madame de Stael (1817), Schlegel was appointed to a professorship in Bonn. For some time past the conversion of his brother to Catholicism had created considerable surprise ; and it was rumoured that Wilhelm leaned to the same side. That he sometimes decried all Protestant forms of worship as unpoetical, there can be no doubt ; but

towards the end of his life, in 1828, he publicly disclaimed any such pro-Catholic sympathies. He translated Calderon and the greater part of Shakespeare into German, and spread new and improved views on the drama. Admiration for the great English poet became a perfect mania with him and others, although they chiefly founded their high estimate of Shakespeare on the imaginative and theatrical elements in his drama, while they failed to appreciate the moral character of his tragedies in its true light. A. Schlegel has left several excellent ballads and lyrics; but his drama of "Ion" is a failure. He also drew attention to Sanskrit language and literature.

Frederick Schlegel (1772–1829) laboured for a long time with his elder brother in Jena; but subsequently retired to Vienna. In 1803 he changed his religion at Cologne, and became a zealous Catholic. The love of the marvellous, founded on its attractions for the imagination, seems to have been his ruling sentiment. He lamented that the Reformation had proved fatal to the worship of the Virgin, of angels, of saints, and similar objects of popular adoration. Altogether his pleas for his favourite religion were not so much based on any positive historical convictions, whether concerning the origin of Christianity or the subsequent history of the Church, such as have usually guided converts in their decisions of such questions, as upon conclusions concerning matters of taste. His most remarkable production is his series of lectures on the "Philosophy of History," in which he pleaded for the unity of the Church; his novel of "Lucinda" is full of mysticism and sickly sentimentality; his work on the "Language and Wisdom of the Indians" contained many original views on the affinity of languages.

Baron von Hardenberg, surnamed Novalis (1772–1801), is another coryphee of the Romantic school; he was a man of original genius, and, but for his premature death,

might have produced a more lasting impression than he did. The main object of his life and writings seems to have been to combat the rationalism of his contemporaries. He wished to make religion once more the pivot of life and society; and to this end recommended the institution of an independent and irresponsible hierarchy, as the fittest means of regenerating the morals of his age. He used to invite the two Schlegels to his estate, and was untiring in promoting their schemes of literary and theological reform. A great deal of his mysticism must be attributed to his physical constitution, which was unsound; he succumbed to consumption before he was thirty. His literary remains are unimportant; they consist of some aphorisms, a hymn on night, and a poetical romance treating of the mediæval bard, Heinrich von Ofterdingen.

Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), a native of Berlin, was the most prolific writer of the Romantic school. In the last year of the preceding century he resided at Jena, then the headquarters of the Romanticists. In 1819 he became manager of the court theatre of Dresden, and in 1842 he was called to Berlin, as court poet to King Frederick William IV. Besides executing with the elder Schlegel a version of Shakespeare, he translated "Don Quixote," and edited the works of H. Kleist and Lenz. His critical works are more successful than his original compositions. The earliest among these were prose novels, such as "The Life of William Lovell," a fast young Englishman; and "The Wanderings of Sternbald," a German artist. In his second period, beginning with 1798, he turned to fairy tales and legendary dramas. His "Phantasmus" is a collection of works of either of these two kinds of composition. It begins with the prose tales of the "Blond-haired Eckbert," "Faithful Eckart," "Tannhäuser," and others; and concludes with the burlesque comedies of "Blue-



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beard," "Puss-in-Boots," and "Zerbino." The merit of Tieck in writing these works is not that of having invented the plots of the stories; he borrowed nearly all from German or French sources; only "Eckbert" and "Zerbino" are of Tieck's own invention. He has, however, told his subjects in a fascinating way. His fictions about goblins, gules, haunted forests, speaking birds, and cunning cats, exercise a wonderful spell; sometimes they amuse, more often they terrify. The narrative of the events related is, however, interrupted by satirical reflections on unromantic persons and disbelievers in miracles. Thus, "Zerbino" is not only a tale of the adventures of a prince, but, at the same time, a journey to the "land of good taste," *i.e.* to the land of wonders. This style is continued in Tieck's subsequent dramas, notably in the tragedy of "St. Geneviève," which sets before us the desertion of that saint by her husband, a knight of Trèves, on a false charge of adultery, and her reconciliation with him, when he had found her at a hunt in a cave, as she was attended by a hind and a wolf. A drama, much like the preceding, is Tieck's "Kaiser Octavianus." Its hero is not Augustus, but an imaginary King of Rome, of German extraction, who also unjustly parts with his wife Felicitas, but finds her again in Palestine, where both were making a crusade. Tieck's dramas were not written for the stage, and by their supernatural plots render all attempts at acting them impossible. They, however, contain poetic passages for reading. In the last-mentioned drama the genius of Romantic poetry, the "Christian Muse," child of Faith and Love, announces the spirit of the play in these verses:—

Montbeglänzte Zaubernacht,
Die den Sinn gefangen hält,
Wundervolle Märchenwelt,
Steig' auf in der alten Pracht.

In 1819, on going to Dresden, Tieck abandoned the legendary style, with its supernatural incidents, and turned to common-life stories. The name he gave to these is the same which Goethe had employed for several of his, viz. *Novellen*; it means novelettes, and was taken from the Italian. Tieck's productions in this department are generally regarded as his best. Their plots are, however, improbable, although not absolutely miraculous. The most read are:—"Die Gemälde"; "Dichterleben, Scenes from the Life of Shakespeare"; "Des Lebens Ueberfluss" and "Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen." The last refers to the persecution of the French Huguenots in the time of Louis XIV., and is beautifully told, but unfinished. Tieck's sympathies were entirely on the side of the Catholics; and although he never himself changed his Protestant creed, he often wished to do so, and his daughter did.

Count Arnim and **Brentano** are two other writers of tales. "The Boy's Magic Horn" is their joint work; it contains a collection of old German songs; Brentano also composed many legends separately. Another Romantic writer, **Chamisso**, of a family of French extraction, is the author of "Peter Schlemihl," or the tale of the Shadowless Man, which has been translated into most foreign languages. A young emigrant to the Cape of Good Hope sells his shadow to the devil for an unlimited supply of money. But subsequent mishaps, arising from the absence of that needful appendage, make him rue his bargain, and he vainly endeavours to recover his shadow from its satanic possessor. The most noteworthy fiction of Baron **Fouqué** is his "Undine," a dreamy mediæval love story, suggested by the watersprite supposed to haunt the Danube. **Amadeus Hoffmann** is a particularly gloomy and horrifying goblin tale-writer. His "Elixire des Teufels," his "Phantasiestücke," his "Serapionsbrüder," and his "Nachtstücke,"

are those most spoken of among his works. **Musæus**, author of the "Volksmärchen der Deutschen," and **Bettina von Arnim**, the ~~sister~~^{wife} of Brentano, are other contributors to this legendary species of composition. Bettina caused great sensation by her "Correspondence of Goethe with a child" (1835), a partly fictitious account of her acquaintance with this poet.

Heinrich von Kleist (1776-1811) is a romantic poet of posthumous fame. He was a Prussian officer of the same family as Ewald von Kleist, the author of the "Frühling." His ill success as a writer, and his want of any active occupation, so strongly affected his mind, already predisposed to madness, that he perished by his own hand at Lake Wansee, near Berlin. Tieck and Julian Schmidt were the first to direct attention to his merits as a poet. His stirring narrative of the life of Kohlhaas relates the acts of vengeance by which a highwayman of the time of Luther retaliated on the rapacity of the nobles. His "Käthchen von Heilbronn" is a popular drama of a semi-romantic tendency. The heroine, an armourer's daughter, of the thirteenth century, falls blindly in love with a knight who had dismounted at her father's forge to have some repairs made in his armour. The infatuation with which she persists in her passion involves the knight in a charge of witchcraft; but her solemn protestations, in an impressive scene before the Fehmgericht, satisfactorily prove his innocence. Käthchen is thereupon sent by her father to a nunnery, and the knight is free to wed the noble Kunigunde. On the night preceding the marriage, the castle of the knight is attacked and set on fire by some rejected rivals, when Käthchen, who has discovered the treacherous plot, appears on the scene, and with the utmost bravery rescues from the flames some documents of priceless value to Kunigunde. The admiration with which her heroism inspires the knight, combined with the insight

he has suddenly obtained into the machinations of Kuni-gunde, determine him to disregard the poverty and social position of the armourer's daughter and make her his wife. The "Hermann's-Schlacht" is a political drama written with the object of symbolizing the impending downfall of Napoleon and his generals by the fate of Varus and Ventidius, Roman generals decoyed to their destruction by the Teuton chieftain Arminius. The "Broken Pitcher" is a comedy describing a petty-sessions case in a Dutch town, in which the magistrate of the district turns out to be himself the chief offender. "Der Prinz von Homburg" is a historical play, laid in the time of the Great Elector of Prussia, and setting forth the necessity of strict obedience to a military superior on the part of his under-officers.

Zacharias Werner, a convert in his latter years to Catholicism, and a popular preacher in Vienna, is the author of the "Twenty-fourth of February," the first of the fatalistic dramas (*Schicksals-Tragoedien*). It has as its subject the murder of a son by his father on the Gemmi, on the exact day and with the same weapon with which the father had previously slain his own parent. Müllner's "Schuld," Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau," and Houwald's "Leuchthurm" are examples of the tragedies of horror and fate to which Werner's drama gave rise.

2. **Ultramontane Writers, and Ultra-Conservatives.**—The claims of the Papacy and the divine right of princes have found in Germany a few eager votaries, more especially in the higher ranks of society. Opinions of this tendency were at first advanced with greater moderation; but in proportion as their victory became less likely, the zeal of their advocates seemed to increase, and often to run into excess. One of the earliest poets who evinced a bias in favour of the Church and the emperors of the Middle Ages was **Max Schenkendorf** (1783-1817), a patriotic

poet who had fought in the liberation war of 1813 and 1814, and who combined with very Conservative views in politics religious views of a corresponding character. These he expressed in his "Christian Poems," and other lyrics, published in 1815. But the staunchest champion of Absolutism combined with Ultramontanism is the Bavarian poet, **Oscar Redwitz** (1823-1891). This author essayed various dramatic and other performances, such as "Sieglinde" and "The Doge of Venice"; but the greatest sensation was caused by his romance, entitled "Amaranth," and written in rhymed short iambics. This poem, which appeared shortly after the disturbances of 1848, threw down the gauntlet to the whole Liberal and Radical party, stigmatizing their endeavours as so many impious innovations, suggested by the spirit of evil, and tending to the subversion of virtue and order. The salvation of mankind seems to Redwitz staked on the increase of kingly and sacerdotal power—a view which he inculcates under the guise of a mediæval romance, of which the greater part consists of discourses between the heroine and her lover, and declamations against modern impiety. More recently Redwitz wrote in a more liberal, and truly patriotic, strain, as is shown by his novels "Odilo" and "Hymen" (1887). A tone of great moderation prevails in the compositions of the Hungarian bishop, **Pyrker** (1772-1847), who has written two epic poems in hexameter verse. The one is called *Rudolfias*, and refers to the founder of the Habsburg dynasty, while the other celebrates Charles the Fifth's expedition against the pirates of Tunis, and bears the name of *Tunisia*. Two noble ladies enlisted their talents on the same side—the Baroness **Droste-Hülshoff** (1797-1848), a Westphalian of noble family, of strong religious feeling, and considerable poetic endowments; and the Countess **Hahn-Hahn**, who in 1852 sought a refuge from the dis-

appointments of a brief, but unhappy, married life in the seclusion of a Catholic nunnery; she has published many novels and travels, not to mention some versified effusions, all of which are strongly tinged with Ultra-Conservative views, and with a maudlin, womanish despondency.

3. **Patriotic and Liberal Poets.**—One of the most manly characters whom Germany has seen in modern times was the heroic **Theodor Körner** (1791–1813), a poet-soldier, who sealed with his blood the patriotic cause for which he fought. He belonged to a wealthy family in Saxony, and had as a boy known Schiller, who was a friend of his father. When the Russian campaign terminated in 1812, and Germany rose like one man for the expulsion of the French, Körner, then living in Vienna, had nearly grown up to manhood, and did not hesitate to enlist at Breslau in the Prussian army, although his own sovereign, the King of Saxony, at that time sided with Napoleon. He joined the volunteer band of Colonel Lützow, a corps of hussars, who wore a black uniform, and a cap on which a skull was depicted, and who on enlisting took an oath not to give or receive any quarter from the enemy. In this regiment, which consisted almost entirely of noblemen's sons, Körner behaved with signal bravery, and rose to the rank of an adjutant. He made numerous war-songs, which inspired his comrades to deeds of valour, and resounded nightly at the bivouacs of the German army. His spirited lines on "Lützow's Wild Chase" and his "Song of the Sword," containing a dialogue between a free soldier and his sword, are known to most lovers of German music, and well express by their martial notes the patriotic enthusiasm of the period in which they originated. The latter poem possesses a peculiar interest from the fact that it was written but a few minutes before its author met his death. About six weeks before the final struggle on the battle-field of Leipzig, Körner was staying with

Lützow's band, near Wöblin, in Mecklenburgh, when some French soldiers, concealed in the thicket near the high-road to Schwerin, pierced him by a stray shot while he was galloping in pursuit of them. His mourning companions buried him at the foot of an oak-tree, which is still standing on the spot where he fell. Seldom has the grave closed over a youth more heroic and more earnest. His war lyrics were afterwards collected by his father, and published under the name of "Lyre and Sword." There is also a good tragedy among Körner's relics entitled, "Zriny." It refers to the siege of a Hungarian town, which was saved from the Turks by the devotion of its commander.

M. Arndt (1769–1860) is another very successful author of patriotic songs, such as the popular hymn of the Germans—"Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" and his spirited lines—"Der Gott der Eisen wachsen liess, der wollte keine Knechte," his song of Marshal Blücher, and that of Major Schill. This poet's life was in harmony with his writings. During the short time of French ascendancy Arndt fled to Sweden from the persecution of the French police. But, though in exile, he found means to assist Minister von Stein in organizing the popular rising against Napoleon. The Prussian Government repaid him with ingratitude. In 1819 Arndt was dismissed from his professorship in Bonn for having written in too liberal strains, and reminded the Prussian dynasty that it owed its preservation to the exertions and the good-will of the German people. He recovered his dignity in 1840.

Two political songs deserve our attention as historically important monuments of the wars between France and Germany. The one is the "Rheinlied," the other the "Wacht am Rhein." They arose about the same time, namely, in 1840. The then Prime Minister of Louis

Philippe, M. Thiers, boldly asked for the Rhine-frontier as the natural boundary of France; and while all Europe echoed with the cry of war, Niklas Becker, a young Rhineland, expressed his feelings about annexation to France in a few eloquent verses, which forthwith became the party-symbol of his countrymen. The two first lines ran thus: "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein." Their author was a native of the neighbourhood of Aachen, and therefore particularly suited by his birthplace to be the spokesman of the provinces threatened by France. He has not done or written anything of any importance since. The other song, though written on the same occasion, was long either overlooked or forgotten, until the events of 1870 gave it suddenly an almost unparalleled popularity. It begins thus: "Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall, wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall," and its author, long unknown, was recently discovered to have been a Swabian merchant of the name of Max Schneckenburger. He is not now alive, and much of the currency which his lines have obtained is due to the music of Wilhelm rather than to the merit of the text.

Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862) is, next to Heine, the most renowned poet of the post-classical era. He was a Swabian by birth, and prepared himself for the Bar in Tübingen. Subsequently he held a professorship at that University. In 1819 Uhland became a member of the Würtemberg House of Deputies, and in 1848 he joined the National Parliament of Frankfort. His voice was never heard except in behalf of freedom and progress, and he enjoyed up to his death the universal respect of all parties. As a poet he has written some exquisite ballads, some of which are inferior to none of Schiller's or Goethe's. His "The Minstrel's Curse," "Young Roland the Shield-bearer," his poetic biography of Eberhard, surnamed Rustlebeard, from his bushy hair, an old Count of Wür-

temberg, are brief but finished compositions. His students' song: "Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein"; his soldiers' air: "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden"; the religious lines: "Das ist der Tag des Herrn," and many other simple, touching verses have made Uhland popular amongst the most opposite classes of German society. Of his seven complete dramas only two have had any great degree of success: "Duke Ernest of Swabia," and "King Ludwig of Bavaria." Both relate to incidents of mediæval German history, but their merits are rather lyric than dramatic. Uhland became the leader of a school of poets, taking their collective name, "Die schwäbische Dichterschule," from Würtemberg, which was at once the home of the principal members and the subject of their best-known compositions. One of the forerunners was **Hölderlin**, the author of the wild novel "Hyperion," and of some odes and hymns in antique metres. His life was spent in hardship and misery, and ended in 1843 in a madhouse. **Gustav Schwab**, a pastor of Stuttgart and friend of Uhland, is chiefly memorable for his popular songs. **Justinus Kerner** (1786–1862), a poet, and Doctor of Medicine, spent the greater part of his life at Weinsberg in the often-sung castle of Weibertreu. He is remarkable as a serious believer in spiritualism, and in the reappearance to the living of the souls of the dead. This extraordinary idea he has incorporated in his work: "Die Seherin von Prevorst." His lyrics, of which some possess great merit, are distinguished by the tone of mystery and gloom which prevails in the majority. **Wilhelm Hauff** (1802–1827), a charming Swabian story-writer, is the author of the historical novel of "Lichtenstein," which refers to one of the ancient dukes of Würtemberg, and to his concealment in a cave in the neighbourhood of the castle of Lichtenstein. His tales from the Black Forest, his eastern stories, and his

“Topers’ Visions in the cellar of Bremen Town-hall” are elegant and highly poetical compositions. But for his early death, Hauff, to judge by the works he has left, might have become one of the first novelists of Germany. This ends the list of the Swabian poets.

Friedrich Rückert (1789–1866), a Franconian, is remarkable for patriotic songs, and for labours in oriental literature. Under the former category the most important of his productions are the martial odes entitled *Geharnischte Sonette*, written before 1814, and his lines on *Barbarossa*. Subsequently he turned to Sanskrit, Hindustanee, and Arabic poetry. He translated into German verse a portion of the “*Mahabharata*,” namely, the story of *Nal* and *Damajanti*. The “*Metamorphoses of Abuseid*” are taken from the Persian. Rückert also attempted more independent imitations of the wisdom of the Brahmins, which are characterized by the same excellences and defects as the Indian poetry generally, contemplative elevation of style, interspersed with word-quibbling, and spoiled by lengthiness. His dramatic performances have met with but little favour.

Count Platen (1796–1835), a Bavarian nobleman, is the *Aristophanes* of Germany. If not always equal in merit to that Greek poet, he is still his follower as far as he can. Platen transferred into his German imitations the style, the wit, the spirit, and the very metre of the Greek comedian; and as *Aristophanes* ridiculed *Socrates* and *Cleon*, so he chastised the follies of the school of *Schlegel* and *Tieck*. In his “*Ominous Dinner-fork*” and in his “*Romantic Œdipus*” he has very happily exposed the affectation and unmanliness of Romanticism—more especially the fate-tragedies of *Müllner* and *Werner*. Platen has also exhibited his talents in smaller poems, both lyric and epic. His sonnets are finished, though at times gloomy, compositions. On the whole, however, his

poetry is more eulogized than read. This is either owing to the too learned and artificial style and aim of his works, or else to the circumstance that he spent the greater part of his life abroad. Platen's favourite resort was Sicily. Here, in Syracuse, he lived and died; and his Italian host inscribed his tombstone with the following curious piece of Latin:—"Ingenio Germanus, forma Græcus. Novissimum *posteritatis* exemplum."

4. **Advanced Liberals and Young Germans.**—As Germany some fifty years ago passed through a period of revolutionary agitation, it was but natural that a large portion of her literature in that time should display revolutionary tendencies. Both in their writings and their lives, the German republicans of that age exhibited symptoms of the convulsed state of society. The majority of them began as champions of liberty, and ended as refugees—compelled to exhale their native ardour afar from the country which they for a time had lightened up with the blaze of their patriotism. Several, however, returned to Germany after 1868.

George Herwegh (1817–1875) is a poet of this description, and a representative of the party of Young Germany. He was a native of Stuttgart, and educated at Tübingen, but resided for the latter part of his life either in Switzerland or Paris. About the close of the reign of Frederick William III., this author published a volume of political poems, under the significant title of "Poems (addressed to the Dead) by One of the Living ("Gedichte eines Lebendigen"). As the reader will easily guess, it was "king-deluded" Germany and her inhabitants who were to be roused from the sleep of the defunct.

The poetic enthusiast did not much disguise his appeal to the people, but exhorted them to resist the oppression of their princes, and to follow in the wake of popular freedom and national unity as their future guiding-stars. The

book contains many good verses, and the feeling of the public was in full accord with the tone which it adopted. At that time Germany was all on tiptoe with the anticipation of sweeping reforms. King Frederick William IV., on ascending the throne, in 1840, had induced the people by his brilliant promises to hope for an immediate fulfilment of their political expectations. For the space of nearly two years this delusion lasted. Meanwhile Herwegh's poems went through seven successive editions; and in 1842, when he made a tour through the country, he was received in every town with public ovations on a magnificent scale. As, however, the desired reforms were not forthcoming, the people became more and more impatient, and one among the dissatisfied was Herwegh himself. In this state of mind he requested an audience from the Prussian sovereign, who had repeatedly expressed his delight at his poems, hoping he might, by a personal interview with the king, obtain some promise of a more liberal policy. He was well received, and quietly permitted to urge the views which he entertained on his royal interlocutor. Leaving Berlin, he addressed, from Königsberg, a letter to the king, reiterating in still stronger terms his former appeals and admonitions in behalf of more enlarged principles of government. But great was Herwegh's surprise when, a few days after, he received from the police an official notice to quit the territories of Prussia, and never to return. He went to Paris, where a marriage with a wealthy lady improved his condition. In 1849 he made an armed invasion on the soil of Germany, during the Baden insurrection, but met with no success. His literary performances since 1840 have been insignificant. He died in 1875, at Baden-Baden.

F. Freiligrath (1810-1876), a native of Detmold, was a merchant in Rhenish Prussia, and wrote some political poems of a liberal tendency, which procured for him a

pension of a very small amount from the king. However, Herwegh and other political partizans of Freiligrath remonstrated with him on the impropriety of accepting such a gift, and denounced the spirit of servility which it implied, and he thought fit to decline the continuance of the favour bestowed upon him. This brought him into disrepute with the court party, and he became still more obnoxious to the Government on the outbreak of the disturbances of 1848. The result was that Freiligrath left Prussia, and took up his residence in London, where he had previously entertained commercial relations with several German firms. He remained in London until 1868, when the amnesty proclaimed by Prince Bismarck enabled him to return to Germany. He did not, however, venture again to reside in Prussia, but settled at Cannstadt, near Stuttgart, where a national subscription, instituted throughout Germany, gave him the means to buy an estate. The hostility which he had so long borne to the governments now gave way to a patriotic pride in the German successes. He not only caused both his sons to join in the campaign of 1870, but contributed by his war lyrics to rouse the enthusiasm of the people. The most celebrated of his lyrics, from this time, is "The Trumpet of Gravelotte" (*Sie haben Tod und Verderben gespiesen, Wir haben es nicht gelitten*), a short poem which tells how a regiment of lancers, the Magdeburg cavalry regiment of Count Schmettau, after a furious charge on the French at Vionville, was reduced to one-half of its number; the trumpeter, when trying to rally the remainder, found the brass of his bugle pierced by bullets, and on blowing it, the sound resembled more a wail for the fallen than a roll-call for the living. The poems of Freiligrath are distinguished by vividness of description, richness of rhyme, and honesty of feeling. His earliest efforts evinced a singular partiality for Asiatic and

African scenes. He there describes incidents taken from the lives of negro-princes, wandering Arabs, and sheiks of the desert. His fancy dwells with peculiar delight on the animal and vegetable life of the torrid zone. Among these may be mentioned his "Ammonium," some graphic lines on the arrival of an artist at an oasis of the Sahara. Similar in spirit is the "Lion's Ride," an animal-ballad describing the death of a giraffe under the claws of the king of the desert. Among the other compositions of Freiligrath, his masterly translations from Burns, Mrs. Hemans, Scott, V. Hugo, and others, are justly admired.

Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874) was long a professor of literature in Breslau, and has great merits as a discoverer of ancient German literary remains. He is also the composer of many exquisite popular songs and political verses. His most famous poem is that beginning "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles, über Alles in der Welt," which has recently become the principal national hymn of the Germans. Unfortunately his Liberalism was too advanced for the Government of the time, and thus he was in 1842 ignominiously deprived of his post and salary as a university teacher. He wandered long about the country without any fixed occupation. At last he became a journalist at Weimar, and subsequently obtained an appointment as librarian in Corvey. He died in 1874.

Professor **G. Kinkel**, born in 1815, is the author of "Otto der Schütz," a chivalrous romance, as well as of other poems. He embraced republican views; and not being very guarded in his public conduct, especially while he was a member of the first Prussian Assembly of Deputies in 1848, he was found guilty of political misdemeanours, and imprisoned at Spandau. After a captivity of some years he effected his escape from the fortress in an almost miraculous manner. He subse-



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quently lived in London, until, in 1866, he obtained a professorship in Zürich, where he died in 1882.

Among the other adherents of advanced Liberalism, **R. Prutz** (1816–1872) deserves mention. He satirized the philosopher Schelling in his witty comedy, “*Die politische Wochenstube*,” and wrote a good account of the Göttingen Hainbund. L. Weinberg, of Altona in Holstein, is remarkable as having invented the name of the party of “*Young Germany*.” In a preface to a collection of his essays, he had employed, in 1834, the phrase, “*Dir, junges Deutschland, widme ich diese ästhetischen Feldzüge*”: this first led to the use of that term. L. Börne, Th. Mundt, H. Laube, and G. Kühne were other, less important, members of the same school; but all were obscured by the fame of Gutzkow and Heine, of whom we shall now give a brief account.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE FIFTH PERIOD—H. HEINE—

K. GUTZKOW.

Heinrich Heine (1799–1856), the most gifted poet of the Young-German school, and perhaps of Germany since the days of Goethe and Schiller, was born in Düsseldorf on the Rhine, and used to call himself the first man of his century, since his birthday had been near the first of January, 1800. Both his parents were Jews, his mother the daughter of an Israelite physician of the name of van Gueldern. It does not appear, however, that the Heines at any time were very strict observers of the Mosaic rites; and the circumstance that the poet, the eldest of four children, constantly associated with Christians, and for six years visited the town-school, must have had the effect of

gradually estranging him from the faith of his relatives, and disposing him for the renunciation of Judaism, which he afterwards made. The earlier years of Heine's life coincided with the time of Napoleon's ascendancy on the Rhine, when Düsseldorf was the capital of the French principality of Berg. Among the German subjects of the foreign dynasty, none showed more devotion to the interests of France than the Jews, who were placed by the French on an equality with their Christian neighbours, and enjoyed under the Napoleonic rule a degree of liberty previously denied to them. The feeling of gratitude, engendered by this tolerant policy, may partly be the cause of the warm enthusiasm with which Heine ever regarded the French and their emperor. In 1815, when the battle of Waterloo had totally ruined the cause of Napoleon, Heine had almost completed his school education. His father, a draper of limited income, wished his eldest son to become a merchant, and sent him as a bank-clerk first to Frankfort, and then to Hamburg. In the latter town, his uncle, the wealthy banker Solomon Heine, became the patron and benefactor of the poet, and, in spite of many occasional quarrels with his nephew, assisted and supported him until death severed the connexion. An experience of two years convinced the banker that his young relative was by no means suited for his present occupation, and as "Harry's" wit and drollery had made him a favourite with his uncle, he yielded to his entreaties and sent him to study law at Bonn. As Jews were at that time disqualified for holding the position of advocates, this necessitated a change of religion in the near future. Heine accordingly entered at Bonn in autumn, 1819. He had already published several poems, two of which, "Ramiro" and "The two Grenadiers," had excited considerable attention. The latter is a ballad expressing the devotion of the com-

mon soldiers of France to their great emperor, then still a captive on the rock of St. Helena. The verses were immediately set to music by various composers, and became widely popular. At Bonn, Heine became the disciple of August W. Schlegel, and by him was initiated into the secrets of Romanticism. Notwithstanding the bitter enmity they afterwards bore towards each other, Heine was indebted to his professor for many valuable hints on versification and criticism, and three of his earliest sonnets are evidences of the admiration with which he regarded Schlegel. After a year's stay, Heine left Bonn for Göttingen, but hardly had he entered there when he was rusticated for having engaged to fight a duel, and was compelled, in April, 1821, to remove to Berlin.

While continuing his law-studies in the Prussian capital, Heine had the good fortune to gain the friendship of Varnhagen von Ense, a retired officer of liberal opinions, who was in the habit of collecting around him the literary celebrities of Berlin. Not the least important among these was his own wife, the celebrated Jewess Rahel. It was here that Heine made the acquaintance of Fouqué, Tieck, Chamisso, and others, nearly all of whom acknowledged him as a poet of distinction. Another literary circle to which also Heine belonged was that presided over by the Baroness von Hohenhausen, the first German translator of Byron. At the University, Heine attended the lectures of the philosopher Hegel, whose pantheistic optimism has not been without effect on his writings. Two dramatic attempts, "Almansor" (1821) and "Ratcliff" (1822), belong to this period of the poet's life. Ratcliff is a Scotch rake who, under the influence of supernatural visions, first slays his rival and then puts an end to his own life. More important is the other tragedy, of which the scene is laid in Spain at the time of the

edicts against the Moors. The hero, a noble Arab chieftain, is promised the hand of his betrothed, on condition that he will abjure Mahomedanism, and become a Christian. After many struggles he bends over the font at Cordova, but the sacrifice is in vain, and in despair he elopes with his mistress. They fly into the Sierra, are pursued by Zuleima's Christian relatives, and to escape capture leap together down a precipice. On the only occasion on which this tragedy was represented, at Braunschweig, August 23rd, 1823, it was hissed off the stage, partly owing to the mistakes of the actors, and partly to the anti-Christian spirit of the piece. Heine was present in the theatre, and the fate of this his earliest tragedy seems to have deterred him from ever again attempting dramatic composition.

This failure was more than redeemed by the success of the lyrics he was now giving to the world. Between 1822 and 1825 the greater part of the "Buch der Lieder" was written, a collection of songs which may bear comparison with the finest productions of lyric poetry. After his juvenile productions and sonnets, some of which are of great merit, comes a cycle of love ditties, inscribed "Die Heimkehr," from a holiday-visit he paid his parents at Lüneburg, which are unsurpassed in warmth of feeling and artless simplicity. We cannot criticise them better than by inserting a few lines which we select almost at random, and which are perhaps none of the best :

Mädchen mit dem rothen Mündchen,
Mit den Auglein süß und klar,
Du mein liebes, kleines Mädchen,
Deiner dent ich immerdar.

Lang ist heut der Winterabend,
Und ich möchte bei dir sein,
Bei dir sitzen, mit dir schwätzen,
Im vertrauten Kämmerlein.

It has often been asserted that Heine's mistress had no more existence in the flesh than Schiller's Laura, and that the numerous names which he bestows on her are proofs of the fictitious character of the whole love-story. This supposition is, however, at variance with the facts brought to light by A. Strodtmann, Heine's best-informed biographer. This writer informs us that the heroine of Heine's love-songs was his cousin Amalie, the third daughter of Solomon Heine, who married, in 1821, a landowner of Königsberg, called Friedländer; and although the name of Amalie is not found among the many appellations given by Heine to his cruel fair one, while the blue eyes and blonde hair constantly attributed to her would point to one of a race other than the Jewish, the account given by Strodtmann remains the only one supported by positive evidence. Whatever be the truth of this story, it is certain that Heine has carried the poetry of unhappy love to a higher degree of perfection than any preceding writer. All possible variations of this sentiment find expression in his songs, from the tender sigh to the bitter lament, from bantering satire to jealous rage, from brooding despair to philosophic pessimism. The reader need only compare, in proof of this, the difference in tone between such lines as "Du schönes Fischermädchen, komm treibe den Kahn an's Land," or "Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam im Norden auf kahler Höh," and the sentimental: "Was will die einsame Thräne"; between the satirical: "Wir sassen und tranken am Theetisch" and the pessimistic: "Der Mai ist da mit seinen goldnen Lichtern."

Among the love-poems which form the substance of the book are also several ballads of the highest merit. The most celebrated is that of the Lorelei-legend. This rock, at St. Goar on the Rhine, was formerly a source of great danger to vessels passing up and down the river. It is

probable that it owes to this both its name (*Lor*, English *lure*, French *leurre*; and *lei*, old German for a rock) as well as the legend first versified by Brentano, and afterwards by Heine. The satirical ballad of Donna Clara, a highborn Spanish maiden who, in spite of her detestation of the Hebrew race, allows herself to be entrapped into a love-scene with the son of a Rabbi, is no less intensely in the spirit of Heine than the "Pilgrimage to Kevlaar."

In January, 1824, Heine changed his university for the third time, and returned to the town from which he had been four years before expelled. He now for the first time seriously applied himself to the study of law, and in May, 1825, passed his examinations with such success that the Rector of Göttingen University publicly drew a flattering parallel between him and Goethe. To obtain the degree of Doctor of Laws, but one more step remained to be taken, the public adoption of Christianity. This ceremony took place in a neighbouring Prussian village, where a certain pastor, Grimm, received Heine into the bosom of the Lutheran Church. On being baptized he inscribed himself in the parish register as Johann Heinrich Christian Heine, Candidate Doctor of Laws.

Before settling in Hamburg as a practising lawyer, Heine began to travel. The summer months he generally spent by the seaside, at Cuxhaven, or at Norderney and Heligoland, two islands of the German Ocean. To these sojourns by the sea we owe his beautiful cycle of odes, "Die Nordsee," a series of pictures of coast life. Heine may be said to have been the first to introduce the poetry of the sea into the literature of modern Germany; and his account of the storm and the harbour, the mermaid and the mariner, the shore and the fisherman's cottage, owed much of its charm to the extreme novelty of such subjects in Germany.

It was an unlucky day on which a man of Heine's

imaginative temperament determined to enter on the practical duties of a lawyer. Neither his own languid exertions, nor the influence of his rich uncle, were able to procure him clients, and even the attempt to obtain for him an appointment at the town-council of the petty Republic failed through the competition of a more industrious rival. Instead of pleading in Court, or giving advice in his chambers, Heine would stroll about the streets with an enterprising bookseller of the name of Campe. This publisher rose to fame and wealth by his compact with Heine and the Young-German party. He kept a secret press in one of the suburbs of Hamburg, and from it all the Radical literature of the period was scattered broadcast over the land. The greatest precautions were taken to elude the vigilance of the satellites of Metternich; printing was carried on at night; the books were provided with false title-pages and wrappers, and thus pamphlets brimful of heresy and treason passed the Prussian and Austrian frontiers, under the guise of prayer-books and manuals of cookery. One of the earliest offshoots from this nursery of Radicalism was Heine's first prose-work, the "Reisebilder." It began with the "Harzreise," a witty and vigorous description of an excursion to the Brocken which he had made in the previous year. After it came the book "Le Grand," a panegyric on Napoleon I. and the French nation. It owes its name to a drum-major Le Grand, who had been quartered on Heine's parents at Düsseldorf. Then followed travels to Munich, the Tyrol, North Italy, and the baths of Lucca, all of which places Heine had lately visited. The "Englische Fragmente," a continuation of the "Reisebilder," contains an account of his visits to London, where he lived for five months in the year 1827. Heine disliked the English on account of their business-habits, their Sabbatarianism, and their moral punctiliousness, but was an admirer of their political freedom and

their self-reliance. His prose-style is no less novel and remarkable than his manner as a lyricist. It differs from all other German prose by its strong vein of humour, and its admirable perspicuity. Fanciful and pathetic passages are succeeded by volleys of irony and sarcasm. Sometimes his jests are merely the effervescence of youthful gaiety and mirth; at other times they proceed from extreme Radicalism in matters of State and Church; in a few cases they betray a deep-rooted cynicism of moral sentiment. His turns are always forcible, and come on the reader with a certain explosive suddenness; he never tires, and usually surprises.

One of the objectional traits of the "Reisebilder," which was also attended with serious consequences to the author, was the unmeasured abuse which he dared to bestow on literary adversaries. The worst instance of this is his attack on Platen in chapters 10 and 11 of the second volume. This Bavarian nobleman, who was staying near Lucca at the time when Heine was bathing there, had given him offence by some remarks on his recent change of religion, and had spoken in disparaging terms both of him and his friend Immermann, in the comedy entitled "The Romantic Oedipus." For these remarks Heine now took revenge by not only criticising Platen's poetry in the most unmerciful manner, but moreover charging him with a vicious habit which, if the assertion had been true, ought to have submitted Platen to a criminal investigation. To have insinuated such a foul story must ever remain one of the blots on Heine's work. The insulted nobleman at first left the libel unnoticed. He could all the better afford to keep silence, as the sale of Heine's "Reisebilder" was shortly after prohibited throughout the length and breadth of Germany. However, on further consideration, Platen changed his mind, and brought an action for defamation against Heine. The result of this action might have been

serious, had Heine not thought better to escape from the consequences of Platen's ire by his emigration to France.

The poet had in 1830 published his "Neuer Frühling"—a short continuation of the Book of Songs—when the Revolution of July broke out in Paris. This event revived his old predilection for France, and confirmed his growing dislike of Germany. His change of religion had not brought him the rich harvest of emoluments and preferment which he had expected. King Ludwig of Bavaria had failed to give him the professorship at Munich, of which Heine for a time had been led to entertain some hope. Even a passing engagement at Stuttgart, where Baron Cotta had employed Heine as a contributor to some of his journals, had terminated after a duration of five months. In Hamburg, Heine and his friend Campe were involved in incessant difficulties with the censors of the press. In the end the annoyance occasioned by these petty persecutions, together with the dread of the result of Platen's lawsuit, determined Heine to leave Germany. On May 3rd, 1831, he arrived in Paris, where for the remaining twenty-five years of his life he resided, supported partly by the proceeds of his literary labours, partly by an allowance from his uncle, and also for a time by a pension from the Government of Louis Philippe.

The security enjoyed by Heine in the French capital gave him fresh courage in his warfare with the German Governments. He now wrote a series of articles on France and the French for the Augsburg "*Allgemeine Zeitung*," in which he spared neither Louis Philippe, nor any other of the Princes of Europe. Before many of these had appeared, the Austrian Premier, Prince Metternich, complained of their revolutionary spirit to Baron Cotta, the proprietor of the paper. Thus debarred from the discussion of politics, Heine turned to Art, and contributed to the same paper a collection of criticisms on the French

school of historical painting, which was then attracting great attention in Europe. At the same time he published the political articles above mentioned, with a number of others on the affairs of Germany, and introduced the volume by a most trenchant preface. This book he could find no German publisher to take, and accordingly resorted to the expedient of printing it at a private press in Paris. He also expressed his opinions on German affairs in several French periodicals. These Radical manifestoes did not long pass unnoticed. They were denounced in the bitterest language by W. Menzel, a former college friend of Heine, and now editor of the Stuttgart "*Literaturblatt.*" The articles of Menzel led to an edict of the Frankfort Bund against Heine and the Young-German party. The sale of all works bearing his name was prohibited under the strictest penalties; his future publications were put under the same anathema as those of the past, and whether written in French or German, they were alike to fall under the operation of the law.

Thus silenced, and excluded from the German book-market, Heine sought a new sphere by interpreting to the French the philosophy and literature of Germany. He availed himself of the assistance of Loewe-Weimars, Paul de Nerval, and Taillandier, three young Frenchmen, to compose for the "*Revue des deux Mondes,*" and the "*Europe littéraire,*" a series of articles on the recent phases of German Thought. In the "*Romantische Schule*" (1833), he treated the Schlegels and their friends in the spirit of the schoolboy who gives a drubbing to his own teacher. He compares the Romantic school to Charenton, the lunatic asylum of Paris, and likens its leaders to a number of idiots attempting to lisp in the nineteenth century the childish lullabies of the Middle Ages. He describes Aug. Schlegel as a fop, Frederick as a bigot, Tieck as a literary somnambulist; but this bitterness may in part be the hatred of the apostate

to the sect he had abandoned, and the remark of the French writer who styled Heine "un Romantique défroqué" is not without its truth. In another series of essays, published in 1834, in the "Revue des deux Mondes," he extended his subject by examining the state of religion and philosophy in Germany from the earliest times to the period of Schelling. He had intended to give an account of the philosophy of Hegel as well, but found himself unequal to the task. The articles, though sparkling with wit and sarcasm, are frequently superficial, and the work of a poet rather than of a philosopher. The whole treatise bears traces of a strong revolutionary bias. The author wished to persuade his French readers that a revolution similar to their own had for the last fifty years been silently proceeding in Germany, with the single difference that the one upheaval was in the realm of practical politics, the other in the domain of thought. He accordingly dwells with peculiar fondness on the revolutionary tendencies of German philosophy, and represents Kant, Fichte, and their followers as anxious above all things to subvert established beliefs. This view is, however, more witty than accurate. Especially is it untrue to say of Kant that his critique of speculative Reason proceeded from a concealed atheism. For Kant, in describing God as a Noumenon, no more meant to deny His existence than he did that of the human soul, to which he gave the same generic name.

These spirited essays brought Heine into contact with all the leading minds of France. The most useful of these friendships was that of Thiers, at that time Prime Minister of France. It was through his influence that an annual pension of 4800 francs was granted to Heine in 1838, and continued for eleven years. This pension has been variously accounted for. It may simply have been given from a desire to encourage merit even in a foreigner. It is, however, more likely that it was intended as an induce-

ment to Heine to continue his advocacy of the French cause in the Rhenish provinces which Thiers was at that time plotting to annex.

In the following year Heine involved himself in a discreditable quarrel with one of his countrymen residing in Paris. A German radical of the name of L. Börne, who had been expelled from Baden for some trifling offence, and who was now at the head of a revolutionary club in Paris, accused Heine of lukewarmness in the cause of Republicanism. This led to a bitter newspaper altercation, and the abuse which Heine showered on his adversary was so venomous that it moved the disgust of the Parisian no less than the German public. This violence was all the more damaging to Heine, as Börne died in the course of the year from home-sickness and despondency. Heine had thus the satisfaction of seeing his opponent silenced; but his heartless conduct towards his former friend left on his reputation a stain so dark and deep as to alienate from him his few remaining friends.

His private life, which had never been very exemplary, underwent a singular change in 1841. He married in that year Matilda Mirat, a French *grisette* whom he had met at some public dancing-hall. Although before her marriage neither able to read nor write, and wholly ignorant of German, she acquired some education at her husband's expense, and, notwithstanding their great disparity in position and religious sentiment, they appear to have lived happily together. In the course of the year they visited together the baths of Caunterets in the Pyrenees. While staying here, Heine chanced to see one day a bear dancing before the villagers, and earning pennies by his antics. This suggested to him the idea of ridiculing the German Republicans of the type of Börne, under the guise of this bear. He gave him the name of Atta Troll, and made the story of his life and death a vehicle for satire on

rabid German democracy. When at last a bullet has put an end to the bear's flight and wanderings in the primæval forest, King Ludwig, of Bavaria, from regard for Atta Troll's ardent patriotism, erects his bust in Walhalla—the Ratisbon collection of sculptures—and places upon it the following epitaph:—

Atta Troll, Tendenzbär, sittlich
Religiös, als Gatte brünstig;
Durch Verführtheit von dem Zeitgeist
Waltursprünglich Sansculotte;

Sehr schlecht tanzt, doch Gesinnung
Tragend in der zott'gen Hochbrust,
Manchmal auch gestunken habend,
Kein Talent, doch ein Character.

The next poem of Heine was his “*Deutschland ein Wintermärchen*” (1844), an account of a brief and stealthy visit which he paid (November, 1843) to his still living mother in Hamburg. He took great care to preserve his incognito, and succeeded in not drawing on him the attention of the Prussian police. The poem is a most witty and vigorous, though not always refined, satire on the authors, scholars, divines, statesmen, and princes of Germany in the year 1844. The prophecy in canto IV., that the cathedral of Cologne would never be completed, and would some day serve as a stable for horses, has not been hitherto fulfilled.

One of his reasons for undertaking this, as well as a sea-journey to Hamburg shortly afterwards, was to inquire into the terms of a legacy which he expected his uncle would leave him. The wealthy banker died on Christmas-day, 1844, and in his will ordered his son to continue the pension he had given to Heine. The payment was, however, subject to certain conditions, the chief of which was that Heine was not in any of his writings ever again to mention any member of the banker's family. As the poet

was rather slow in submitting to the conditions, and, moreover, claimed the pension as a right, he involved himself in a furious family quarrel with his cousin Charles, and the excitement and disappointment arising from this dispute completely prostrated his already enfeebled health. In 1846 he was for the first time attacked by a disease of the spine. It was in vain that he resorted to the springs of Baréges in the Pyrenees. From February, 1848, to the day of his death, he never left the sick-bed. The rear of a quiet house in the Rue d'Amsterdam, near Montmartre, was his dwelling-place during these ten years of suffering. Unable to endure contact with anything hard, he lay on a bed consisting of six mattresses piled one upon the other, which he called his "Matratzengruft." His agony was, however, not unsolaced by sympathy and love. The aristocracy of rank and intellect throughout Europe came to testify to the esteem in which he was held. Not only was he visited by such literary celebrities as Prince Auersperg and the Baroness von Hohenhausen, Béranger, and Hebbel, but he also received offers of service and devotion from many younger admirers, such as F. Lassalle. His most mysterious visitor was, however, a young German lady, Camilla Selden, who for the last two years of his life alleviated his sufferings by her care. She bears in Heine's poems the nickname of "La Mouche," as she desired that her true name should never be made known to the public. Disease did not impair the intellect of the poet. Five years before his death, he published the collection of ballads to which he gave the name of "Romancero," from the resemblance borne by some of them to the romances of Spain. The tone, however, is usually that of bantering satire, sometimes varied by laments over his physical sufferings. A later and still more interesting work is his "Geständnisse" (1854). In these confessions Heine lays bare his religious opinions, and looks back on his past life in that spirit of



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half-serious, half-comic raillery which had become his second nature. It has been asserted that the book contains a recantation of his earlier religious principles, and his name has been added to the list of infidels who repented on their death-bed. The book, however, gives but little confirmation to this view. Heine, it is true, disclaims Pantheism, and professes to return to his father in heaven, after having so long fed swine with the disciples of Hegel; but in other passages he professes the same aversion to Church-dogmas now as before. On February 17th, 1856, his long sufferings ended. He was buried, without religious ceremony, in the churchyard of Montmartre, where his tombstone, inscribed with the words, H. Heine, may still be seen. He had ordered in his will that his bones should rest in French soil.

✓ **Karl Gutzkow**, a native of Berlin (1811–1878), after Heine the most prominent member of the Young-German party, owes his fame chiefly to his dramas and novels. Nearly all of these belong to the class of “*Tendenz-Schriften*,” relating almost exclusively to the political and social questions of the day. His literary career commenced about 1830, with contributions to different liberal journals. After the witty “*Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin*,” he published the oriental tale “*Maha Guru, or the history of a God*,” a satire on sacerdotal arrogance. The hero is a young man whom the priests of Thibet have set up as Dalai Lama. As long as he is surrounded by affluence and adoration he remains convinced of his own divinity. But this belief is rudely shaken when his attendants, fleeing from his insolence, leave him to perish by hunger. The pangs of starvation torture him one day when riding on his triumphal car. He begs one of his worshippers to cease his acts of adoration and give him a crust of bread. The scandal arising from this scene reveals the imposture. Maha Guru is dragged from his seat, stripped of his

dignity, and compelled to pass the remainder of his days in penitence on the top of a stone column. About 1832, Gutzkow went to Stuttgart to assist W. Menzel in editing the "Litteraturblatt," but his new novel "Wally the Sceptic" was the occasion first of his disagreement with Menzel, and afterwards of his trial and imprisonment. The novel was suggested by the suicide of Frau Stieglitz, the eccentric wife of a Berlin author, who had stabbed herself to rouse the dormant poetic faculty of her husband. As Gutzkow seemed to have advocated the emancipation of the flesh, and other very revolutionary theories, he was brought before the Hofgericht of Baden, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. On the expiration of his term of arrest, he withdrew to Hamburg, and afterwards to Dresden. He now turned to the drama. A series of historical plays appeared under his name. The earlier were Nero, Richard Savage, Patkul, and Wullenweber. The last refers to the execution for heresy of a burgomaster of Lübeck in 1537. The "Prototype of Tartuffe" describes an incident in the life of Molière, and in the court-history of Louis XIV. Among Gutzkow's later dramas are the popular comedies "Zopf und Schwert," "Der Königs-lieutenant," and the tragedy "Uriel Acosta."

"Cue and Sword," written in 1844, takes its name from the tuft of hair worn at the back of the head by the soldiers of the two first Prussian kings, "Zopf-Periode" being the usual name for that epoch, in which military routine was carried to its greatest excess. The play of Gutzkow is a satire on this Prussian militarism. It does not, however, disregard the great qualities of its hero, Frederick William I. It depicts him as niggardly, brutal to his wife and children, addicted to low buffoonery, beer-drinking and tobacco-smoking; it ridicules his fondness for tall soldiers, reviews and cannonading, as well as his contempt for court-pomp, art and literature; but it does

justice to his uprightness, natural honesty, and simple piety. The plot rests on the marriage of Wilhelmina, the sister of Frederick the Great, with the Duke of Bairauth, and on the failure of the scheme of her mother, who wished Wilhelmina to marry the Prince of Wales. The best scene of the comedy is that in Act IV., where the king assembles around him the members of his smoking-club.

“Uriel Acosta” (1847) brings tragically before us a struggle between love and Jewish fanaticism. The Portuguese scholar Acosta, a historical personage and the teacher of Spinoza, had, during his residence in Amsterdam, published a book on the Pentateuch, which led to his expulsion from the Jewish community there. The Rabbis, however, on the intercession of his friends, and more particularly of his betrothed Judith Vanderstraten, promise to re-admit him, provided he will retract his errors. This he must do by a public renunciation and penance in the synagogue. After many inward struggles Acosta consents, and for Judith’s sake passes through the preliminary stages of the punishment imposed. When, however, in the last moment of his degradation he learns that Judith is after all to be given to his rival, he rises from the dust in which he lay, and rushes with indignation from the church. He arrives only to find the wedding ceremony ended. But Judith hastens out to meet him, and drinks in his presence the poisonous juice of the flowers he had given her at one of his botanical lessons. The tragedy ends with the death of Acosta by his own hand.

“Der Königsleutenant” (1849) was written for the Frankfort centenary of the birth of Goethe; it celebrates an incident of that poet’s youth, related in “Wahrheit und Dichtung.” Count Thorane, the king’s lieutenant, or *juge du roi*, to the French army of occupation, in 1760, one day ordered his host, Goethe’s father, to be imprisoned for some unpalatable remarks, which he had made on

the French, during a sudden approach of Frederick's army. However, the prayers of Goethe's mother, and the spirited conduct of her young son, who was a favourite with the count, as well as a few other circumstances, invented by Gutzkow, effect the prisoner's release. The character of the French nobleman, who is a lover of pictures and poetry, though not of German, is drawn with much skill and truth; some of his attendants, being Alsatians, can speak German, and act as interpreters to the count.

The novels of Gutzkow, like his dramas, were all written to serve some political purpose. "Die Ritter vom Geiste," in nine volumes, describes under fictitious names the servile courtiers and the irresolute politicians of the reign of Frederick William IV., between the years 1850 and 1852. The name of the novel is taken from an imaginary club of Radical reformers, who employ a treasure to which they had become entitled for the furtherance of their political projects. The novel ends despondingly with the resignation of their leader, and the total failure of their schemes. "Der Zauberer von Rom" (1859) is an account of the state of the Catholic Church in Germany from the point of view of an intelligent outsider. The scene of the novel is principally laid in Cologne, about the year 1820, when the question of the religion of children by mixed marriages was being agitated in the Rhenish provinces. The course of the story carries the reader also to other Catholic towns and provinces of Germany, among the rest to Westphalia and Vienna. On this wide stage the different orders of the Catholic hierarchy, from the Cardinal to the village-curate, together with their fellow-workers in school and convent, appear. The central figure of the novel, the high-minded Bishop Bonaventura, finds after years of zealous labour that his baptism and ordination have been irregular, and, distracted by doubts and scruples, flees for

refuge and comfort to the Waldenses, whose high-priest he finally becomes.

After the completion of these comprehensive works, Gutzkow's health and reason suddenly gave way. In 1864 he made an attempt on his life at Friedberg. This led to his confinement for a year in a Bavarian asylum. The works he has since composed, however, give ample evidence of his unimpaired intellect. The most important of these is his novel "The sons of Pestalozzi" (1876). It explains the author's views on education, by the example of a natural man consigned to the guardianship of some eminent disciples of Pestalozzi. The subject of their experiments is a young man supposed to have grown up to manhood without the knowledge of any language, or other educational acquirement. This idea was suggested to Gutzkow by the mysterious history of the foundling Caspar Hauser. To use the words of the chief teacher Lienhard, "Here might be seen the original man—the table which the confused Runic characters of life have not yet disfigured with the prejudices of centuries—a pure undefiled conception, still unpoisoned by school, state, church, home, society—at the age of seventeen the creature who still lies in the cradle."

After a life of almost uninterrupted literary activity, Gutzkow died, in 1878, at Frankfort, from suffocation. He had been reading by the light of a candle placed at his bedside, and fallen asleep from the effect of a dose of chloroform, when the curtains caught fire, and before he could gain the door of his room the smoke overpowered and killed him.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION OF FIFTH PERIOD—THE AUSTRIAN SCHOOL—
CONTEMPORARY POETRY AND FICTION.

1. **The Austrian School.**—Austria, long without a single representative in German literature, has within the present century produced a school of poets whose manner and choice of subjects present certain distinctive peculiarities. The more impetuous manner of thinking and writing, which distinguishes Austrian poets from the colder writers of Northern Germany, may perhaps be due to the admixture of Slavonic, Hungarian, and Italian blood with that of the native German population. It is at any rate certain that the poetry of terror and the philosophy of despair have found very numerous votaries on the banks of the Danube, and that high-flown political poetry and dramas of a strongly sensational character stand in particular favour with the Austrian public.

Baron **Zedlitz** (1790–1862), the first Austrian poet of importance, is the author of the “*Todtenkränze*,” or Sepulchral Wreaths, a series of reflections on the careers of Napoleon, Wallenstein, Petrarca, Tasso, and Byron, to whose graves the poet is led by a spirit who enables him to weigh the actions of these illustrious dead. Similar is the tendency of Zedlitz’ celebrated lines: “*Nachts um die zwölfte Stunde*,” a panegyric on the first Napoleon, all the more remarkable as coming from an Austrian officer who fought at Wagram and Aspern, and acted as private secretary to Metternich. The idyllic tale “*Waldfräulein*” describes the adventures of a maiden imprisoned in a haunted forest, who escapes from her seclusion and finally finds happiness and protection in union with a wandering knight.

The Hungarian baron **Lenau** (1802-1850) is the greatest lyricist of Austria. His minor poems, his "Polenlieder," and his epics on Savonarola and Faust, give evidence of a poetic talent which, if developed under happier circumstances, might have entitled him to a high place among the singers of Europe. But his genius was clouded by fits of gloom and despair, which at last deepened into insanity, and in 1844 led to his confinement in a madhouse in Vienna. He had previously emigrated, but finding no rest in the American wilds returned dissatisfied to his home. Lenau is the chief instance in Germany of the Weary-of-the-World school of poetry (*Weltschmerz-Poesie*), made fashionable in Europe by Lord Byron. The leading sentiment of this class of poets, that man's life is essentially unhappy, finds expression in all the lyrics of Lenau, which in various strains of gloom and discontent give utterance to his longing for death.

A more manly poet is **Anastasius Grün** (1806-1876), a nobleman of high family whose real name was Count Auersperg. His numerous political poems exhibit his antipathy to despotism and his anxiety for the progress of liberty—sentiments all the more remarkable when we consider the rank and the birthplace of the author. His "Rambles of a Poet of Vienna" are reflections on the political condition of Austria, suggested by the view of Vienna from a neighbouring hill. His "Ruins" (*Schutt*), a poem on the decay and rise of cities and empires, contrasts the fallen glory of Venice with the brilliant future of America, and the dust of a dilapidated convent with the brightness of a millennial world. His epic on the "Last Knight" celebrates the Emperor Maximilian I. Several of Grün's shorter verses are pointed and felicitous; his longer poems labour under the defect of excess of imagery and a too rhetorical style.

Three Austrian dramatists now claim our attention. The first is **F. Grillparzer** (1791–1872), who has already been mentioned as the author of the fate-tragedy “Die Ahnfrau.” His subsequent dramas, “Sappho,” relating to the infidelity of Phaon towards his Lesbian benefactress; “Medea,” describing the despair and infanticide of the Colchian princess on her desertion by the faithless Jason; his “Hero,” the story of Leander’s love, and that on “Ottocar of Bohemia,” the unsuccessful rival of Rudolf of Habsburg, are great improvements on his first effort. Their sensational character procured the author a surprising popularity at the very close of his life. Grillparzer also left a number of novelettes, among which “Der arme Spielmann” is particularly interesting as a picture of the author’s earlier life. **F. Halm**, another famous dramatist of Austria, was born in 1806, and died in 1871. His true name is Münch-Bellinghausen. He has written thirteen dramas, of which three have attained considerable fame—“Griseldis,” “Der Sohn der Wildniss,” and “Der Fechter von Ravenna.” The first describes the cruel experiments made by Percival, a Knight of the Round Table, in order to prove the fidelity and devotion of his wife. The “Son of the Wilderness” illustrates the civilizing power of Love upon a savage enamoured of a captive Grecian girl. The scene of the play is laid in ancient Gaul, at Massilia. Ingomar, the chief of a savage tribe, is moved by pity to protect his helpless captive, Parthenia. But no sooner is she safe in his tent than beauty and refinement assert their power. The chieftain becomes captive in his turn. He resigns his command of the Tectosagi, and follows Parthenia to her father’s house. “The Gladiator of Ravenna” recounts the miserable fate of the degenerate son of Arminius, who basely deserting the cause of his country prefers the position and death of a prize-fighter to the task

of redeeming his invaded country. The dramas of Halm are decidedly sensational in language and action.

✓ **F. Hebbel** (1813-1863) was a native of Mecklenburg, settled in Vienna, and is the author of several tragedies, which contain poetical beauties of a high order. His trilogy of the Nibelungen is an attempt at throwing the traditions of Siegfried and Kriemhild into a dramatic form. The incidents are too horrible for the purposes of the theatre. The same is true of his "Judith," "Genofeva," "Mary Magdalene," "Gyges and his Ring," etc. Their subjects are generally adultery and murder; the situations are powerful but ghastly, the language highly poetic.

Robert Hamerling, born in 1832 at Kirchberg in Lower Austria, died at Graz in 1889, is perhaps the greatest poet that Austria has produced. After studying philology at Vienna, where, as a student in 1848, he was a zealous adherent of the revolutionary cause, he held an appointment as teacher in a gymnasium at Trieste, and subsequently became a professor at Graz in Styria. Owing to habitual ill-health he subsequently retired on an ample pension. Hamerling began his literary career by translating one of the gloomiest poets of modern times, the Italian Leopardi; and the poetry of this writer, as well as the philosophy of A. Schopenhauer, had the effect of deeply imbuing him with the principles of pessimism. In the preface to one of his works he takes credit to himself for having anticipated many of the theories of the Frankfort misanthropist, whom he calls the first philosopher of the day, and only regrets "dass er auf halbem Wege stehen geblieben ist." His earliest production, "Venus in Exile," was written during a short stay in Venice, in 1858. It is an apotheosis of the goddess of love, Venus Urania, at whose banishment from the world by the industrialism of the nineteenth century

he utters a passionate regret. In the same strain his "Schwanenlied der Romantik" (1862) denounces the growing materialism of the age, and its pride in railways, telegraphs, manufactures, and other mechanical contrivances, as destructive of the higher pleasures of which our nature is capable. His collection of minor poems, "Sinnen und Minnen" (1859), contains many pathetic and profound lyrics. A tone of satisfied pessimism pervades this book. The idea that life is a dungeon of misery, decked out as a place of amusement, appears under many forms in its pages. He compares man to a butterfly that wearily flaps its wings for a few days in the sunshine of earthly pleasure, until a sudden blast puts an end to its fleeting existence. The contrast between the glittering surface and the dread realities underneath is set forth in the beautiful sonnet "The Voices of the Deep":

Schön ist das Leben wo die Sonne hauset,
 Doch düster bleibt sein dunkler Grund. Nicht wage
 Zu laufchen! Wer herunterhört, dem grauset.

In his "Germanenzug" of 1864 he describes the march of the primæval Germans from Asia across the Caucasus to Europe according to the theory of modern philologists. Teut, the chieftain of these blue-eyed flaxen-haired hordes, when walking at night through the tents, beholds in a vision the future greatness of his race, and sketches its mission in Europe. The poem is interesting as showing with what warmth of feeling the modern Austrian clings to his German nationality. But the time when that country was no longer to form a part of Germany was now drawing near. In the year of the battle of Sadowa, Hamerling published his great epic, "Ahasver in Rom"—a work of great genius and originality. This poem, which blends history with allegory, by interweaving

the closing events of Nero's reign with the mediæval myth of the Wandering Jew, is in its narrative element clear and intelligible. The debaucheries of the mad young tyrant, his incendiarism, his murder of his own mother, his slaughter of his closest friends, and finally his self-inflicted death, are described in all their revolting atrocity. From the opening canto—in which Nero steals down the steps of his palace into one of the lanes of the Suburra, to carouse and brawl with a band of low companions, and marry a young Spanish dancing-girl—to the closing lines, where he flees for refuge to the catacombs, and dies by the sword of one of his German body-guards, we pass through a succession of masterly scenes, which display the accuracy of the scholar no less than the genius of the poet. The fire in Rome, the orgies in the imperial parks, the splendours of the golden palace, and the beast-fights, are described with that graphic vigour and that taste for the horrible which characterize the poets of Austria. Hamerling probably is right in assuming that a growing surfeit of human pleasure, ending in total disgust with life, was the one motive guiding Nero's actions. Unfortunately the historical facts of the epic are made subservient to the exposition of a pessimist theory. A spectre, in the person of Ahasverus, dogs the steps of the reckless despot, not merely as a Nemesis, but as the embodiment of a philosophic abstraction. Here the poem becomes obscure by the sudden introduction of allegory. The Wandering Jew, a phantom representing the principle of longing for death, struggles with Nero, whose only impulse is the desire for life and its enjoyments. Thus the two antagonistic principles of human existence, according to the theory of pessimism, are brought face to face; and the gradual subsidence and overthrow of the latter are shown in the fall of Nero. Hence, when dying, he whispers

into the ears of Ahasverus the following lines, which contain the purport of the poem:—

Du Alter, flüster Nero noch, ja du
Gewannst die Wette! Todessehnsucht hat
Mit Lebensstrang in mir getauscht die Rolle!

The singular manner in which the death of Nero is here employed to illustrate the theory concerning Nirvâna (see p. 256) is one of the most ingenious experiments which poetry has ever made in handling historical subjects. In 1868 Hamerling again attempted the historical epic. The subject of his "King of Sion" is the rise and fall of the Anabaptist sect in Münster, in Westphalia, about the year 1534. The hero of the poem is Jan van Leyden, king of the Protestant sectaries, and founder of a new Jerusalem. This wild reformer tried during his short rule to remedy the evils of poverty and vice, by the introduction of a new scheme of universal happiness, in which pleasure was to co-exist with virtue. He established communism and polygamy; however, after twelve months of revelry, tumult, and bloodshed, the bubble burst, when famine and treachery combined to bring about the capture of the town. Hamerling was obliged to idealize his hero. He does not allow him to share in the crimes of his followers, but represents him as a man of pure life, earnestly pursuing some fanciful project of reform by which sensuality was to regain its long-lost rights. In accordance with this conception his Jan does not die the ignominious death of a felon, but perishes in a neighbouring forest by his own hand. Hamerling's talent for the description of scenes of horror and pathos has also been displayed in his tragedy "Danton and Robespierre" (1871). In his novel "Aspasia" (1876) he handled a subject of calmer interest, viz. the condition of Athenian society in the age of Pericles. His comedy "Lord

Lucifer" (1880) describes the life of a splenetic English lord in a Swiss watering-place, and shows the effect of pessimist principles on different nations and various orders of society. His allegorical epic "Homunculus" (1888) is based on the second part of "Faust," and makes the chemically-produced manikin of Goethe's tragedy grow up and travel all over the world, but only to witness the folly and iniquity of mankind, which so disgusts him with the earth that, after a vain attempt to introduce among men the philosophy of pessimism, he flies in a balloon up to the moon.

2. **Contemporary Poetry.**—To complete this outline, a brief account is still required of the changes which have passed over the literature of Germany in our own day. The important events which, within the last twenty years, have raised that country to the position it now holds among the nations of Europe could not have taken place without corresponding modifications in the tone of national thought. In addition to the rise of prose-fiction, which dates mainly from the year 1840, and the discontinuance of speculative philosophy, which ceased to flourish after 1848, we can distinguish two other departures from the principles which prevailed before 1850—the displacement of Romanticism by Realism, and the decay of revolutionary and Radical poetry. In 1858, when the late Emperor William of Germany, then Prince-Regent of Prussia, formed the first truly liberal administration, and Austria, after the peace of Villafranca, broke for ever with the system of Metternich, the conflict between the sovereigns of Germany and their subjects ceased, and the revolutionary opposition became silent in the parliaments, as well as in literature. As a consequence, the poetry of the Young-German school ceased to be popular. One of the writers of this party, Herwegh, was called by Geibel a

revolutionary firebrand, and compared to Herostratus. On the other hand, the poets of the new generation could not return to Romanticism. Legends of saints, tales of knights, and oriental fairy-stories would have been a ridiculous anachronism in the stirring and warlike times which had now arisen. In their place arose a literature at once patriotic and realistic, totally free from the dreaminess of Romanticism, on the one hand, and from the violent party spirit of Heine and his followers, on the other. In the north of Germany, where there is on the whole less poetic feeling than in the south, arose a school of novel-writers to whom the assertion of the critic Julian Schmidt served as a motto: "Der Roman soll das deutsche Volk da suchen wo es in seiner Tüchtigkeit zu finden ist, nemlich bei seiner Arbeit." Similar principles had already given rise to the village-story of which Auerbach is the chief cultivator. Poetry, in the meantime, seemed to have taken refuge in the south.

The Munich School.—About 1852, Maximilian II. of Bavaria assembled at his court a circle of poets who have cultivated with success both the epic and the lyric kinds. The most famous member of this school was Scheffel, though Geibel was its founder; Heyse, besides Felix Dahn, is almost the only still surviving member who now, in 1896, continues the spirit and traditions of this school.

Emanuel Geibel was, between 1852 and 1870, a kind of Nestor to all the German poets of his age. Born at Lübeck in 1815, he died there in 1884; but though by birth a North-German, he spent a large portion of his life at Munich, whither the King of Bavaria had called him as Professor of Aesthetics at his University. Here he became the centre of a school of poets, at one with him upon questions of art and politics. They were all Conservatives, and abjured the introduction of any extraneous



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tendencies into art. With them, poetry became purely a worship of the Beautiful. The connexion between Geibel and the Bavarian monarch was severed in 1868 by a poem addressed by the former to King William of Prussia, in celebration of the battle of Sadowa. As the Bavarians had been on the losing side in the war of 1866, the comments on Geibel's eulogistic verses were of such a nature that he found himself constrained to resign his position, as well as his pension. He returned to Lübeck, where he died in 1884. His poems beginning with the "Frühlingslieder" and the "Juniuslieder" of 1835 and 1840, and ending with the "Heroldsrufe" and "Spätherbstlieder" of 1870 and 1878, are all pervaded by a strong conservative spirit. Religious and moral sentiment, as well as a mild patriotic feeling, often find elegant expression in his verses; but his abhorrence of all party-spirit is so great as to leave them wanting in fire and passion. Geibel had, in his earlier years, travelled much in the south of Europe, and visited Athens and Troy, in the company of Professor Curtius; and to these reminiscences are owing a number of songs relating to Spain, Italy, and Greece—among others, his beautiful Venetian song, "Fahr mich hinüber, schöner Schiffer," etc., and the Spanish song, "Fern im Süd das schöne Spanien," etc. But the most popular of all his poems is that beginning, "Ein lustger Musicante spazierte einst am Nil," describing the power of music which can charm even the crocodiles of the Nile, and move the pyramids to dance to its strains.

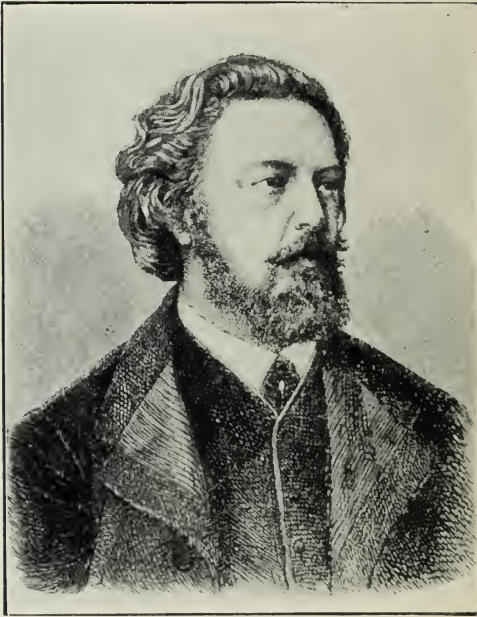
J. Victor Scheffel (1826–1886), born at Karlsruhe, has become celebrated by his epic, "Der Trompeter von Säckingen," his convivial lyrics "Gaudeamus," and his mediæval novel, "Eckehard." He spent some years of his life at Munich, with Geibel and the other poets of Geibel's school, but differs from them by the rich vein of humour and joviality running through his poems. He

had studied at Heidelberg, where the gaieties of student-life left on his naturally-joyous disposition an impression which it has never lost. From this love of conviviality sprung the charming series of students' songs, "Gaudemus," divided into songs for the "engere Ausschuss," or inner circle of friends, and songs for the wider circle. Among the most popular of these we may mention the poem on the "Great Vat of Heidelberg Castle," and the "Songs of Rodenberg"—the story of the revelling knight who sold his estates, one by one, for supplies of Rhenish wine. Besides humorous descriptions of scenes of student-life, the book contains a species of poetry peculiar to Scheffel. Subjects seemingly prosaic and dry become in his hands vehicles of mirth and drollery, and in particular the recent discoveries of Geology and Zoology furnish him with materials for the most racy parodies. This book was published about 1868; but long before, Scheffel's fame had been established by his epic, "Der Trompeter von Säckingen." This poem related in unrhymed trochaic verse a local tradition of a small town on the Upper Rhine, where the author had for some time held a government office. It was composed in 1852, near Naples, and the scene of the last two cantos is laid at Rome. A somewhat wild student, rusticated from the University of Heidelberg, settles about 1652 at Säckingen, on the Rhine, as secretary to a German baron. His wonderful skill in playing the bugle, his fidelity to the family, and his bravery in defending the castle at an assault of the peasantry, so charm the baron's daughter that she falls passionately in love with him. However, the baron objects to their union, because the trumpeter is not of noble birth, whereupon the latter leaves the castle, and emigrates to Rome. Some years elapse, during which the lovers do not hear from each other. At last they meet at the Church of St. Peter's, during the carnival, when the

Pope, at whose palace they first speak to each other, brings about a happy solution, by ennobling the trumpeter, then his Kapellmeister, and releasing him from his duties, to become the accepted husband of the young lady. This epic, so full of love, music, wine, war, and forest-life, receives a further charm by the sage reflections of the tom-cat, Hiddigeigei, whose mewings and meditations form a comical counterpart to the exploits of the hero. Another pleasing and most lifelike character is that of the baron, a rough, but honest and kind-hearted old soldier of the Thirty Years' War, who suffers from the gout, and is fond of his bottle and his pipe. The skill of Scheffel in reproducing the men and manners of the past is no less strongly exemplified in his novel "Eckehard" (1855). Its two principal personages are a monk of the tenth century and a widowed noble-woman, the suzerain of the district in which his monastery lies. She, in her quality of reigning Duchess of Swabia, forces the monks of St. Gall, in a freak of despotic humour, to admit her, although a woman, within the precincts of their convent. To avoid violating the letter of the Benedictine rules, she is borne across the threshold on the shoulders of the handsome young monk, Eckehard. His bearing on this occasion, as well as his general intelligence, give the Duchess such satisfaction that she summons him to her castle to give her lessons in Virgil. The honest young monk is thus obliged to pass through the trials of Abelard, but his shy and frank nature adapts itself but ill to the delicate duties of the situation. He becomes himself the pupil of the Duchess in the art of decorous coquetry; but when he oversteps the barrier of respect on which she insisted, he is punished with considerable harshness by his mistress. He is glad at last to escape from the castle, and finds relief for the disappointments of forbidden passion in a life of poetic retirement. While residing in a hut on one of the peaks

of Mount Säntis in Switzerland, he composes the *Wal-tharilied* (see p. 34), of which Scheffel gives a German version, based on the Latin of Ekehard. The novel rests on a foundation of fact, and it would be difficult to find in the literature of Europe a book which throws so clear a light on the obscurity of those times. The art of reproducing the tone and manner of the mediæval bards is ingeniously displayed in Scheffel's "*Frau Aventiure*" (1864), a name standing for the genius of *Minne-Gesang*; it is a collection of songs in imitation of H. von Ofterdingen. His "*Juniperus*" (1868) is a short story of the feats of a crusader; and his "*Bergpsalmen*" (1870) describes, in a series of hymns, the sentiments with which St. Wolfgang, a mediæval bishop of Ratisbon, left his palace and his cathedral, to reside in the mountain district above the Abersee near Salzburg, where he built himself a lonely hermitage, and lived and prayed amidst the beauties of Nature till he died.

Scheffel has had a large school of followers, of whom it is said that they "have put their light not *under*, but *on* the Bushel." His love of mediæval convent-life, though without his touches of humour, is found in "*Dreizehnlinden*," an epic by F. W. Weber of Paderborn (1878). This poem relates in twenty-five cantos of rhymed trochaics how, about 822 A.D., in the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, a young Saxon, named Elmar, was driven from his Westphalian home, owing to a quarrel with a Frank, and how he fled to Corvey on the Weser, where the abbot of the Benedictine convent of "*Thirteen-Lindentrees*" received him hospitably, and converted him to Christianity. Weber, the author of the epic, was a physician and member of the Ultramontane fraction of the Reichstag. The life of the ancient friar and the nun is also described in Jos. Lauff's "*Monk of St. Sebald*," 1896. Scheffel's convivial poetry, as well as his fondness



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of Alpine scenery have found an able imitator in R. Baumbach, a Thuringian living in Triest, and born in 1841. Baumbach's best-known poem is the epic "Zlatorog," a "Slavonic name for chamois. "The Jug and the Inkstand" and "The Lady Holde" are two other imitations of Scheffel by Baumbach.

✓ **Paul Heyse**, born in 1830 in Berlin, received a call to Munich, and a pension from the king, at the same time as his friend Geibel, and like him resigned his offices in 1868. He travelled for some time with Scheffel, in the south of Europe, and lived long in Italy, which is the scene of many of his stories. For the last twenty years he has resided in Munich and Berlin, engaged in almost incessant literary labours. He is the author of some sixty novelettes in prose and verse, twelve dramas and two novels, as well as many essays. His style is simple and flowing, free from all straining after effect. He seems to have taken Goethe and Boccaccio as his models in story-telling. His novelettes in general refer to exceptional situations; their scene is laid in the boundary land of instinct and conscious morality, where the ordinary rules of society are no longer valid, and where feeling takes the place of reason. The view he takes of life is decidedly optimistic, and the conclusion of his stories is generally happy. Like Goethe, he excels in delineations of female character. In the novelette "Die Blinden," two children of different sexes recover their sight together by a surgical operation. They are forbidden to expose their eyes to the light for some days, during which they remain in a partially-lighted room. But in the heat of the summer night the girl is seized with a passionate longing to exercise her newly-acquired sight by beholding the naked form of her foster-brother. At the moment when she bends over his couch a flash of lightning illumines the darkness, the vivid glare overpowers her weak vision, and she relapses for ever into

blindness. The boy recovers, and finally marries a stranger. Another beautiful story is *La Rabbriata*. A Neapolitan fisher-girl is compelled to cross the bay in the open boat of a rejected suitor. During the journey the young fisherman becomes more tender than the girl is willing to permit. *La Rabbriata*, who has not acquired her name without reason, to check his advances is compelled to resort to force. She bites him in the hand and cheek, and, after jumping overboard, swims ashore. The wound inflicted on the fisherman seems likely to have fatal results. *Erysipelas* sets in, and he is brought to the verge of death. At the moment of his greatest danger a knock is heard at the door, and *La Rabbriata* enters, offering to nurse him. He recovers, and the reconciliation is sealed by marriage. It may be observed that nearly all the novelettes of this author describe the sudden transition of passions into their opposites. In 1872, Heyse first attempted a novel of any considerable length. In this work, too, for the first time something resembling a tendency is apparent. The book bears the name, "*Die Kinder der Welt*," and was seemingly written to show the perfect compatibility of a disbelief in a future world with integrity and happiness in this. The scene of the story is laid in Berlin, and a graphic and lifelike picture is given of the religious Radicalism of German Universities. Although incidents of too violent and sensational a character occur, the interest never flags; and the philosophic dialogues which necessarily belong to such a subject are spirited and appropriate. "*Im Paradiese*" is a less interesting novel, deriving its name from the artists' quarter in Munich, and intended to describe the lives of painters and sculptors.

F. Bodenstedt (1819-1892), at one time connected with Geibel and his friends at Munich, subsequently engaged as director of the court-theatre at Meiningen,

retired in 1878 to Wiesbaden, where he died in 1892. About 1840, he had been tutor to a Russian prince, and four years later went to Tiflis in Persia. While staying here, he took lessons in Persian from a native teacher, Mirza Schaffy. On his return to the West, he published his celebrated volume of songs, "*Lieder des Mirza Schaffy*," which had a surprising success. This was partly due to their fitness for musical composition. The themes are the old commonplace topics of oriental poetry—spring, wine, and love. The diction is smooth and simple, and differs from the style of Lalla Rookh by the complete absence of imagery. The assertion of Bodenstedt that the songs were translations from the Persian deceived for a long time the German public, until quite recently he acknowledged himself to be the author. The very name of Mirza Schaffy's mistress, Edlitam, is only an anagram of Matilda, Bodenstedt's wife. In addition to a collection of oriental stories, entitled "*Tausend und ein Tag im Orient*," Bodenstedt has also ably translated Shakespeare, Pusckin, and Hafis.

Among the minor poets of the Munich school we may mention **H. Liugg**, the author of a lengthy epic on the *Migrations of nations*; **F. Dahn**, an able novelist and dramatist ("*König Roderich*"); and **A. Schack** (1815–1894), the author of several humorous epics, such as "*Ebenbürtig*," a satire on the pride of nobles in their pedigrees, also of political comedies, such as "*Cancan*," a comic exposition of the Franco-German war of 1870, and of translations from the Spanish and the Persian. Schack, long attaché to various Prussian embassies, retired in 1855 from diplomatic service to privacy in Munich, where he employed his large resources in patronizing artists and opening to the public his large collection of paintings.

Among other poets, not connected with the school of Geibel, one of the oldest is **Wilhelm Jordan**, born in

1819, remarkable by the pronounced optimism which pervades all his poetry. He was a prominent member of the Frankfort Diet of 1848, and became councillor of the first German navy. When, however, the German fleet was knocked down to the highest bidder, Jordan obtained leisure to muse at Frankfort upon men and things. He came to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the disappointments which befall nations and individuals, the condition of the world is about as good as it can be. He has expressed this opinion in two philosophical poems of considerable length, the first of which bears the title "Demiurgos" (1853), the second that of "Andachten" (1877). They are intended to show that a belief in a beneficent Deity, notwithstanding the popular superstitions to which it has ever given rise, is far more elevating and well-founded than the contrary notion that the world is the work of a malignant Power. Another important work of this author is his modern reproduction of the Nibelungen-story. It appeared in four volumes, the first two of which were called "Siegfriedsage" (1868), the second "Hildebrant's Heinkehr" (1874). Both in its matter and its form it differs considerably from the epic of 1210. Jordan goes back to the earlier ballad poetry from which that epic is supposed to have arisen, and moulds his poem after the type of the Hildebrands-lied described on page 32. He accordingly employs the alliterative verse, of which the first two lines are a specimen :

Ich wage zu wandeln verlassene Wege,
Zur fernern Vorzeit unseres Volkes.

It differs also from the poem of 1210, by founding its narrative on older sagas. The Middle-High-German poem is full to excess of bloodshed, horrors, and supernatural inventions. Jordan has been able, without violence to the story, to omit the great majority of these. Recently

he has turned to the drama and to novels. His comedies, "Durch's Ohr," and "Zwillingsbruder," and his novel "Die Sebalds," have met with but moderate success.

Julius Wolff, born in 1834, and now living in Berlin, has no philosophy whatever. He first became known by a spirited poem on a standard lost by the 61st regiment at the battle of Dijon in 1870. He has since written several popular epics in short verse. One refers to Tyll Eulenspiegel, another to the Wild Huntsman of Bürger's ballad, a third to the Ratcatcher of Hameln. The latter is the story of the player Hunold, who clears Hameln when infested by rats, and asks as his reward a kiss from the burgomaster's daughter. The refusal of the burgomaster to allow this liberty, and the player's subsequent imprisonment for witchcraft, determine him to seek revenge. On his release he allures by his music all the girls of the town to the Kuppelberg, where they disappear. More recently Wolff has treated with success the legend of Tannhäuser's visit to the Venusberg, and the story of Lurley (1886). The last-mentioned epic attributes the dangerous incantations of the Rhenish rock-dæmon to the vengeful spirit of a water-sprite, who seeks to entice and kill men, for having been jilted by a knight, who lived in the neighbouring castle of Katzenelnbogen. Renata (1892) is another epic of Wolff, referring to the daughter of a goldsmith in Hildesheim who manufactured an enchanted gold cup for her aristocratic lover, but finally was content to marry a goldsmith's assistant.

Contemporary Dramatists. — Since the days of H. Kleist, Halm, Gutzkow, Laube, and Freytag, the **historical drama** has been cultivated with success by a few, while the **comedy of manners**, and the "Posse," or farce, have taken a totally fresh rise, and after 1890 the political radicalism of the **Naturalists** has invaded the stage.

Of the historical plays of J. Mosen ("Cola

Rienzi, the Last Tribune of the Romans"); Alfred Meissner ("Das Weib des Urias"); H. Kruse ("Wullenwever"); Ad. Wilbrandt ("C. Gracchus, the Tribune"); Hans Herrig ("Emperor Barbarossa," "Luther"); R. Gottschall ("Pitt and Fox," "Charles XII.," "Lord Byron in Italy"); Otto Ludwig ("Erbförster," "Mackabäer"); and E. Brachvogel ("Narciss"); only the last was able to keep for any time possession of the stage. This drama is the work of a Berlin actor, who died in 1878. It derives its name from the vagrant philosopher Narcisse Rameau, who lived shortly before the French Revolution; and the object of its author is to describe the condition of France in the time of Louis XV., by an incident of court life, viz. the fall of the Marquise de Pompadour. Brachvogel assumes that this Royal mistress had in former years been married to Narcisse, and that, on recognizing him one day on the boulevard at a drive, she fell into a fainting fit. This circumstance is taken advantage of by the Queen of France and the Duke Choiseul, for the purpose of undermining the influence of Madame de Pompadour. They engage Narcisse to act the part of the ghost of Athalie's husband in the tragedy of Racine, before the assembled court, and in the presence of the king and his favourite. This gives Narcisse an opportunity of reminding his former wife of her misdeeds, and he does this with such fatal effect that the marquise dies with remorse, and Narcisse dies also.

Ernst v. Wildenbruch, born in 1845 at Beyrut, is the son of a Prussian consul serving in Syria, and having from his boyhood lived at Magdeburg or at Berlin, where he filled several high posts, first in the army, then in the legal and diplomatic service, has become famous since 1880 as the most successful reviver of the political drama of Schiller. His chief works in this direction are "Die Karolinger" and "Die Quitzows." The former relates

the disruption of the empire of Charlemagne in 843, through the disunion of his descendants, the Carlovingian princes. Like many dramas of Wildenbruch, it has three or four different heroes, and therefore suffers from want of unity in its action. The "Quitows" are a family of Brandenburg barons, who assist the first Elector, Friedrich von Hohenzollern, in establishing his supremacy and absolute rule. Wildenbruch usually inculcates the duty of blind obedience to a military chieftain—sometimes to excess. Thus, when at the time of the fall of Prince Bismarck in 1890, he symbolized the dismissal of that statesman by a drama, called "Der neue Herr," in which the Great Elector is represented as acting, in 1640, with similar harshness towards a minister of his time, the public became impatient and accused the poet of toadyism. "Das neue Gebot" describes the effect of the Papal decree of celibacy of the priesthood, in the case of a German pastor in the time of Henry IV. and Pope Hildebrand. The tragedy "King Henry IV. of Germany and his Son" (1896) treats at length the events of those sovereigns' reign and their struggle with Pope Gregory VII. "Das heilige Lachen" is a satirical pantomime in derision of Pessimist philosophers. "Der Menonit" and "Vater und Söhne" refer to the Liberation war of 1807-1813. There are also some good novelettes by Wildenbruch, such as his "Meister von Tanagra."

Common-life comedies have been written by Frau Birch-Pfeiffer, an able Swabian actress, living at Berlin (1800-1868), who threw the popular novels of the day into a dramatic form. Her "Dorf und Stadt" is an adaptation of Auerbach's "Frau Professorin" to the stage. **Mosenthal** has written "Deborah," a pathetic play, setting forth the noble character, and the unjust sufferings, through persecution, of a Jewess. The most successful comic poet of Austria is **Ed. Bauernfeld**

(1802–1887), who combines beauty of plot with humour in his dialogue, in “Bürgerlich und Romantisch,” “Grossjährig,” and many others. Much in the same style, though considerably more frigid, are the plays of **Benedix**, of Leipzig (1811–1873), author of “Doctor Wespe” and “Das bemooste Haupt.” His “Shakespeareomanie” is an attack in prose on the German admirers of the great English bard, but only exposed the author to ridicule. The most popular comedies of **Moltei** (1797–1880) are “Der alte Feldherr” and “Die Wiener in Berlin.”

Germany possesses in our age an effective writer of farces in **Gustav v. Moser**, a retired officer living in Silesia, who, either in conjunction with Benedix, v. Trotha, or Schönthan, or by himself, has humorously caricatured the manners of the German officer, the state-councillor, and the professor. His best plays are “Ultimo,” “Der Veilchenfresser,” and “Krieg im Frieden,” and his chief character in most of his plays is Reif-Reifingen, a swaggering, silly Prussian captain, who corresponds to the Lord Dundreary of the English stage.

The Naturalists.—About 1890 the German stage underwent a radical change through the introduction of the new school of extreme Realists or Naturalists, sometimes called “Jüngst-Deutsche” (*i.e.* Young-Germans in the superlative degree), with a totally new theory of art. This school had arisen in France through Flaubert, A. Daudet, and E. Zola; it was taken up by Henrik Ibsen in Norway, and by Tolstoi in Russia, and now spread to Germany. It proposes to depict Nature and Society with the veracity of the photographer, without any ideality, and with rather a predilection for the harsher and unpleasant features of both. Its principal theme is the struggle for the means of subsistence, as the chief incentive to action; hence workmen and artisans are as

much favourite heroes of Realists, as the knights were with Romantic writers. They also teach the hereditary character of vicious propensities, and one of their chief technical axioms is the importance of the *milieu* or social medium, which determines men's characters, as they say, far more than individual will. New subjects were now introduced to the drama as well as to the novel—the horrors of the battlefield, the debauches of a ginshop, the scenes of a public execution, the physical effects of diseases, the farm-yard and the sick-room with their offensive smells, the factory and the attic with their squalid misery, and other themes of a similarly disagreeable nature. The same extreme veracity was applied to the delineation of human passions. It was in vain that the poets of the old school, *e.g.* Paul Heyse, Wilbrandt, and others, entered their protests against this proscription of idealism, which is the principle of the new school; the Realists relied for support on the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, which had begun to find favour with the public. Along with the spirit of composition, the language now underwent a change. The German of the Realist writers consists of short sentences, abrupt exclamations, and homely provincialisms, with a studious avoidance of elegance or loftiness of diction.

Hermann Sudermann, an East-Prussian, born about 1860, is the most renowned representative of this school. He first became known by his novels "Frau Sorge" (1886) and "Katzensteg" (1889). The latter is a story of national hatred, party-revenge, and political persecution. It has its name from a secret passage leading into an East-Prussian castle belonging to a nobleman of Polish sympathies, and the discovery of this passage and the consequent invasion of the castle becomes the occasion for terrible slaughter as well as acts of assassination during the civil war in Polish Prussia between 1807 and 1815.

Shortly after the publication of this novel Sudermann brought out at Berlin his tragedy "Die Ehre," which has had a success only surpassed by the author's next drama. "Die Ehre" holds up to public scorn the German manufacturer as an unscrupulous employer. The plot is laid at Charlottenburg near Berlin, and turns on the courtship of Alma Heineke, the daughter of one of his workmen, by the manufacturer's son. As the old factory-owner objects to such a union, he tries to compromise the love-affair by the offer of a large sum of money, which he proposes to pay to the Heinekes on their relinquishing all ideas of marrying into his family. The girl and her parents, in their poverty and greed of money, eagerly close with this offer; but Robert Heineke, a brother of Alma, brings about a rupture, as he considers it dishonourable. He is a person of superior station and more refined feeling than that of his parents and sister. He returns the manufacturer's cheque, and so courageously stands up for the injured honour of the family as to secure the admiration and the hand of old Mühlingk's daughter, with whom he goes abroad.

The heroine of the drama "Heimat" (1893) is a talented artist, Magda Krause, who, after an absence of twelve years, in a fit of home-sickness, returns to the house of her father, a retired officer of high rank, but only to discover the complete incompatibility of her own manners and course of life with the tone and atmosphere of her home. The moral of the play is expressed in the question of a General's wife of the town, who asks Magda: "I suppose not many daughters of good families are on your stage?" and receives this answer: "Nein, gnädige Frau; die sind meistens zu dumm dazu." The character of Magda is magnificently drawn. The incidents of the plot, though very sensational, are strictly within the bounds of probability. Lieutenant-Colonel Krause in the

end is going to shoot his daughter, when her past life with all its glaring blots is revealed to him, but a fit of apoplexy overtakes the old man before he can commit infanticide.

Sudermann's other novels and plays contain conflicts of a slightly less jarring quality than those enumerated. Among these we may mention the humorous novel of "Jolanthe's Marriage," the comedy "Die Schmetterlings-Schlacht," describing the contest of three rival sisters who paint butterflies on fans, and "Das Glück im Winkel" (1895).

Another poet of the Naturalist school is **Gerhard Hauptmann**, a Silesian sculptor, born in 1862, who exchanged the artist's chisel for the author's pen. He became famous, about the same time as Sudermann, in 1889, by his dramas "Before Sunrise," and "Das Friedensfest." Both pieces describe families brought to the verge of ruin by intemperance and hereditary disease. One member of the family in each case escapes from the taint, by being accidentally thrown into other and better company, and by his or her return brings on a protracted struggle for the reformation of the household, and as this struggle ends either happily, as in the latter, or unhappily as in the former drama, the conclusion is similarly determined. Hauptmann is a tragic writer of great power; but his pages become almost unintelligible by the introduction of dialect. This defect especially disfigures his tragedy "Die Weber" (The Weavers) which sets forth the wrongs endured by the Silesian weavers, and reveals the fanatical socialism of its author. Other dramas of his are "Hannele," "Biberpelz," and "Florian Geyer" (1896) referring to the peasant war of 1525.

Of the other writers of the Naturalist school we will only mention Arno Holz, the best lyricist of the party; Ludwig Fulda, author of the dramatic tale "Der Talis-

man," on the follies of kings and the intrigues of courtiers ; baron D. v. Liliencron, author of the "Adjutantenritte," describing scenes of the war of 1870, and H. Tovote, author of several novelettes and novels.

3. **Recent Novelists.**—The novel, taking the word in its modern sense as a representation of society by narrative and dialogue, has been but recently introduced into the literature of Germany. The prose-fictions prior to 1840 had either been legendary tales, as those of Tieck, or portraits of exceptional characters, such as the stories of Jean Paul, or had been written to advance some original theory, such as those of Goethe ; but of novels representing social types of ordinary occurrence there had been none. Although the earliest examples of the modern novel, in the form of village stories, arose in South Germany, yet the writers who have carried this species of composition to the highest perfection in Germany are all natives of the North. Owing to the unimaginative character of their writings, and their strict adherence to the facts of real life, they are generally known under the name of Realists.

Three classes of novels have recently flourished in Germany—the village story of Auerbach ; the social novel of Freytag, Spielhagen, and Hackländer ; and the historical novel of W. Alexis, Laube, Samarow, and Ebers.

The rise and popularity of the "Dorf Novelle" must be attributed partly to a reaction against Romanticism, partly to that love of the naïve which is characteristic of the German mind, and partly to the existence in Germany of a large and flourishing peasant proprietary, to which there is no parallel in England or Ireland. The German bauer is the owner of the acres he tills, and therefore he is more self-reliant and better fitted to become the hero of a story. Nearly all the village-novelists, we may observe, have been South-Germans. The first to write a story of this class was the famous Swiss schoolmaster,

Heinrich Pestalozzi, of Zürich (1746-1827), the founder of the system of national education now most in favour on the Continent. His literary reputation he owes to the beautiful story of "Lienhard und Gertrude" (1825)—the first book describing the life of peasants in Germany. One of his countrymen, **Jeremias Gotthelf** (A. Bitzius), a pastor in the Bernese Oberland (1797-1854), also obtained celebrity by village-stories, such as "Uli der Knecht"; these he primarily intended for his parishioners, and found them better adapted for the inculcation of morality and piety than an abstract moral discourse. A similar experiment had before him been successfully tried by **Joh. Peter Hebel** (1760-1826), a Lutheran pastor of Lörrach on the Wiese, in the south portion of Baden. This genial writer, the Burns of Baden, had composed, in the Alemannic dialect spoken in that region, his charming "Alemannische Gedichte" (1803), and subsequently published in the same idiom a number of anecdotes and stories, which, together with others in the ordinary High-German, formed part of the almanacks read by his flock. He thus became the founder of the German "Volks-Kalender," which is a collection of village-stories, mixed with the news of the passing year. Up to this point, the village-novel had been a vehicle for imparting moral instruction. It now passed into the hands of a North-German satirist. **Karl Immermann**, of Düsseldorf, a friend of Heine, composed in 1839 a caricature-picture of the life and manners of the Westphalian nobility. He called his hero "Münchhausen," in indication of his affinity in point of folly to the celebrated baron of Raspe or Bürger. In order to bring out in still stronger relief the characteristics of this silly scion of the nobility, he contrasts him with the peasantry living on his estate in the farm-house Oberhof. This gave occasion for the idyl "In Feld und Busch," an episode

of extraordinary beauty, describing the courtship and marriage of a hunter and a farmer's daughter, with a richness of poetry and feeling which will always make Immermann remembered.

The last-mentioned writer, however, glorified the peasants for the purpose of depreciating the nobility, while his predecessors wrote for a didactic end. The first to write village-stories for purely artistic purposes was **Berthold Auerbach**, born in 1812 at Nordstetten on the Neckar, in Würtemberg, of Jewish parents, and for the last twenty years residing in Berlin. The book which has made him famous throughout the world, and which is certainly one of the most original contributions to the recent literature of Germany, is his "Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten," the first series of which appeared in 1843. In this work the author portrays the life and customs of the agricultural population of the Black Forest. As the scene of his stories he chose his own birthplace, Nordstetten, and gave such circumstantial accounts of its bauern, innkeepers, parsons, policemen, foresters, and magistrates, that their minuteness alone is a sufficient proof of their accuracy. The first story bears the title "Tolpatsch," Village-lout or Clodhopper, who is thus described:—"I see thee before me, honest Tolpatsch, with thy broad face, short-clipped fair hair, large blue goggle-eyes, and mouth constantly half-open." He is a stupid, shy, and awkward lad. For this the villagers have given him his nickname, and his sweetheart jilts him for a dissolute soldier. Tolpatsch, though he takes a summary vengeance on his rival, is so afflicted by his disappointment in love that he emigrates to America. Another popular story is "Barfüssele," which forms part of a later series (1856). It is a tale of an orphan girl, who rises by her uprightness and independence of character from the position of a servant, and becomes the wife of the first

farmer in the Black Forest. She is described as an industrious, quick-witted, chubby-faced, plump girl, who constantly went barefoot, and the interest of her story reaches its height when she is preferred by her lover to her mistress. Other stories of Auerbach are diversified by the introduction of townspeople, who serve to bring out by contrast the sterling qualities of the peasantry. The most famous of this class is "Die Frau Professorin" (1846). An artist living in a country inn wishes to present the village church with an altar-picture of the Virgin, and asks Lorle, the host's daughter, to sit for him as a model. She consents, and during the progress of the work he falls in love with her. The innkeeper, after much hesitation, gives him his daughter in marriage; and as the artist in the meantime has become court-painter to a neighbouring Duke, Lorle follows her husband to the Ducal capital, and lives near the court as "Die Frau Professorin." However, the union of rural simplicity with artistic genius does not prosper. Lorle's strong provincial accent, her rustic manners, her aversion to etiquette, her practice of doing all the home-work with her own hands, and her total unfitness to play the part of the lady, gradually estrange her from her husband, and, when Lorle has become the talk of the town, through her extreme frankness in a conversation she has had with the Duke, her life becomes harder than she can bear. She parts from her husband without ill-will, and returns to her native village. Its truth and pathos render this story one of the masterpieces of modern fiction. In 1876, Auerbach attempted to give a sequel to the tales of Tolpatsch and Lorle in "Nach dreissig Jahren." The three-volume novel, "Auf der Höhe" (1861), contrasts the career of Walpurga, a peasant woman serving as nurse in the family of a king, with that of a noble court-favourite, who in penitence retires to the solitude of a mountain, where Walpurga saves her from despair and

suicide, and teaches her the path to peace and contentment. The political novels of Auerbach, his "Waldfried" and "Landhaus am Rhein," have not been equally successful. He died in 1882.

Auerbach found a great many imitators, especially in Austria. J. Rank wrote about the peasants of western Bohemia; M. Meyr about those of western Bavaria ("Aus dem Ries"); Lentner about the Tyrolese; Rosegger about the Styrians; Silberstein and Anzengruber, both of Vienna, about the farmers of Austria proper. The stories of Anzengruber are generally thrown into a dramatic form. His "Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," "Kreuzel-Schreiber," and "Meineidbauer" are popular plays, taking their plots from the dealings of farmers with their Catholic clergy; they show that in many of the affairs of life the Austrian countryman is the submissive slave, and not rarely the dupe, of his priest, who, by working on his religious fears, and terrorizing his wife or daughter, can drive him to any course of action it may be his wish to dictate.

The Mecklenburg novelist **Fritz Reuter** (1810-1874) stands apart from other German writers of fiction, both by the Platt-Deutsch dialect which he employed, and by the broad humour which pervades his stories. This latter characteristic is surprising when we regard the wrongs he had to endure in his earlier life. When passing through Berlin in 1833, he was arrested for some trifling indiscretions he had committed as a student in Jena, tried for high-treason, condemned to death on the most frivolous charges, and kept in prison until the general amnesty of 1840 brought about his release. This long and unjust seclusion, though it unfitted him for study and for continuing the legal career, did not sour his temper. Having failed as a "strom" or land-steward, he became a school-master and vagrant story-teller, wandering about his



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native district from alehouse to alehouse, and amusing the villagers by his anecdotes. In 1853 he collected these stories, under the title "Läuschen und Rhymels," or Anecdotes and Rhymes. The book became at once popular, and was read by thousands unable to speak the dialect in which it was written. With the proceeds of this and similar works he bought a fine country-house at Eisenach, where he lived in incessant convivialities until his death in 1874. Among his tales may be mentioned: "Ut mine Festungstid," Scenes from my imprisonment; "Ut mine Stromtid"; and especially "Ut de Franzosentid," which gives an account of the French occupation of Mecklenburg in 1812.

The most popular novelist of Germany is **Gustav Freytag**, born in 1816, at Kreuzburg in Silesia; for a time Professor at Breslau, and subsequently joint editor, with Julian Schmidt, of the *Grenzboten*, a literary journal, in which they advocated the principles of Realism. He formerly resided at Siebleben, near Gotha, and at Leipzig, but about 1879 took his abode at Wiesbaden, where he died in May, 1895. His novels are, in the main, descriptions of the social life of the middle classes in German towns. The skill with which he depicts bygone states of civilization he has ably shown in his learned treatise, "Pictures from the German past" (1859 and 1862). His greatest novel, and one of the most carefully written prose works of German literature, is "Soll und Haben," or Debit and Credit, a description of commercial life in Germany (1855). True to its professed object, to hold up to the nation a picture of its own worth, this book presents its subject chiefly in its brighter aspects. It extols the honesty of the German merchant, his prudence, his high sense of honour, his industry and perseverance, while it keeps the less pleasing qualities of the trader in the background, or lays them at the door of certain

Hebrew hucksters of the neighbourhood. The typical firm of the novel is Messrs. Schröter & Co., wholesale grocers of a town on the Oder, evidently intended for Breslau. Their style of keeping books, conducting correspondence, packing bales, stocking warehouses, and furnishing retail dealers, is held up to our admiration in a spirit of subdued irony. Our interest in so dry a subject is never allowed to flag. Among the clerks working in the offices of Schröter & Co., there are two young men of very opposite characters—Anthony, a German of the average type, well-meaning, soft-hearted, scrupulously honest; and Fink, a dashing young nobleman, of great coolness and self-possession in social intercourse, whose manners had gained something of American freedom by an early residence in New York. The first part of the novel describes the course of their friendship—their boating excursions, dancing parties, love affairs, and bachelor dissipations. In the second part the scene is changed to the Polish provinces of Prussia. Anthony has left the firm, and accepted the position of steward to a Baron von Rothsattel, whose daughter he has met and fallen in love with in Breslau. His efforts to bring order into the unsettled estate of the baron are unavailing. The estate has been heavily mortgaged, and the owner is at the mercy of Jewish usurers. The crisis is accelerated by an armed rising of the Polish tenantry. The castle and its inmates seem lost, when Fink, who has returned from America, appears on the scene, and by his courage and wealth extricates the baron from all his difficulties. The novel ends with the marriage of Fink and Leonora Rothsattel, while Anthony returns to Breslau, and, by his union with the sister of the principal, becomes a partner in the firm of Schröter & Co.

Freytag's other great novel, "The Lost Manuscript," is a description of the life of the German scholar. The

plot is simple and beautiful. Werner, a professor of a small German university, makes a long, but fruitless, search for a MS. of Tacitus, which he believed to be buried among the ruins of a farmyard in Thuringia. He is with difficulty permitted to rummage on the premises, but can discover no trace of the codex. He finds, however, in Ilse, the farmer's daughter, a treasure which amply repays him for his labour. The search for the MS. is abandoned, and, after a short courtship, Ilse follows him to his university. The professor introduces his wife to the learned circles of the town, and this gives occasion for sketches of the lives of students and teachers in Germany. Freytag here indulges in some quiet satire on the petty squabbles and jealousies of savants. He ridicules their habitual absence of mind and their helplessness in the everyday affairs of life. In the second part of the novel Professor Werner is made tutor to a prince, and proceeds to the court of his pupil's father. While staying as a guest in the palace, he spends his time searching for the lost MS., and leaves his wife exposed to the insidious advances of his host. These are fortunately frustrated by the intervention of a friend of the professor, and the latter finally returns with his wife to a life of peace and happiness in his university. Of the MS., nothing is found but a few leaves, which are dragged from a heap of rubbish by a dog.

In 1872 Freytag began to publish, under the title of "Die Ahnen," a series of novels, in which the history of a single family is traced from the fourth century to our own times. The object of this work is to illustrate the successive stages of German civilization. He has also written some excellent dramas. Of these, the best is "Die Journalisten," a comedy showing off to advantage the habits and manners of press-men in Germany. An election intrigue furnishes the plot; the best scene de-

scribes how a Liberal journalist cajoles a few Conservative burghers into voting for the Liberal candidate. The angry passions aroused by the strife are stilled by the union of the victorious Liberal with the daughter of his defeated opponent. Freytag's last work was his "Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben" (1887).

F. Spielhagen (born at Magdeburg, in 1829) ^{died 1911} spent the greater part of his earlier years on the shores of the Baltic, where the scenes of the majority of his novels are laid. He resembles Freytag in the choice of his theme, but differs from him by the stronger political tendency observable in his writings. The parsons occurring in his fictions are generally represented as either stupid or dishonest, while the Pomeranian nobility, whose life he describes, are often held up to our contempt as a class of idle and arrogant spendthrifts, proud of their pedigrees, ignorant and gluttonous, and, by their immorality and dissipation, injurious to the community. Another class of persons whom Spielhagen ridicules are the philosophical enthusiasts of Germany. He shows that the universities often unfit young men for the practical duties of life, by filling their heads with dreams of reform which can never be realized, and that the education there bestowed is sometimes carried to excess, producing nothing but a supercilious scepticism. An example of this he gives in the hero of his greatest novel, "Problematische Naturen," or Undecided Characters (1860)—a title which he adopted from a remark of Goethe. Dr. Oswald Stein has been initiated at college into the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Hegel, but his intellect has been trained to such a point of acuteness that he finds it impossible to settle down at any one employment, and wanders aimlessly through the world. He begins his career as tutor in a nobleman's family on the isle of Rügen, and ends his life on the barricades of Berlin in 1848. "Hammer und Ambos" (1869) is a

beautiful story of a runaway schoolboy, who joined a gang of smugglers, and was imprisoned for a number of years; the jail to him becomes a reformatory, and at the expiration of his sentence he returns to society, and ends as a rich iron-founder and excellent citizen. The baneful effects of morganatic marriages at German courts are set forth in "Allzeit voran" (1870). "Die Sturmflut" (1877) exposes the trickery of stock-jobbing, and the perils of excessive speculation.

Wilh. Raabe (pseudonym J. Corvinus) of Braunschweig is a humorist in the manner of Richter. His best novel is "Der Hungerpastor" (1865), describing the career of a poor parson.

F. Hackländer (1816-1877), a native of Rhenish Prussia, though usually a resident of Stuttgart, has become chiefly famous by his descriptions of the life of soldiers. "Der grüne Heinrich," of **G. Keller**, an able Swiss writer (1815-1890), is a narrative of the adventures of a roving artist. The same author has collected some interesting descriptions of the lives of Swiss country-people in "Die Leute von Seldwyla"; among these one especially, viz. "Romeo und Julie auf dem Lande," is a most moving story. His autobiography, "Martin Salander" (1886), describes how the author, assuming the pseudonym of Salander, rose from the humble station of a Swiss farmer, after many wanderings and changes of his profession, to become a Member of the Grand Council of Switzerland, and a popular author.

Paul Lindau, editor of the successful Berlin monthly, "Nord und Süd," describes in his novels ("Spitzen"; "Herr und Frau Bewer"; "Der Zug nach dem Westen"; "Aus der Hauptstadt") the manners and moral delinquencies of the Prussian capital. He is an imitator of the French, especially of Alphonse Daudet, and selects generally some elopement, or divorce, or some other

scandalous occurrence, for his theme. He has composed several good comedies, such as "Ein Erfolg" and "Gräfin Lea."

The **historical novelists** of Germany still remain to be mentioned. The first impulse to this class of composition was given, between 1820 and 1830, by translations of the novels of Scott. The bright example set by the great Scottish writer induced many Germans to imitate his style, by trying to sketch some interesting story of private life on the background of an episode of German history. One of the first to make this attempt was **W. Hauff** in his "Lichtenstein." Another writer, who extensively applied the art of Scott to the history of Prussia, was **Wilibald Alexis** (1798-1872). His true name was Häring; he was for a time Privy-Councillor in the Prussian service, and resided at Berlin. His earlier novels were but feeble; but that published in 1852 under the title "Order is the First Duty of the Citizen," as well as its continuation, "Isegrim," are able compositions. They refer to the condition of Prussia, and more especially to the nobility of the March Brandenburg, during and after the invasion of Napoleon I. The title of the former novel is taken from a placard posted up at the corners of the streets of Berlin, on the famous 27th November, 1806, when Napoleon entered the city with his victorious army. Alexis gives a vivid description of those trying times, and shows that the courage of the Brandenburg nobles, although severely shaken, was never entirely subdued. His "Isegrim"—or rather Major von Quarbitz, for the other was only a nickname alluding to his bearish roughness of manner—is a most successful and lifelike picture. He is a baron such as Goethe's Götz, hot-headed and passionate, but upright and brave, every inch a soldier and a feudalist.

A high degree of merit belongs to the fictions of

Heinr. Laube (1806–1884), formerly a member of the Young-German party, but since 1849 Director of the Vienna court-theatre. This able writer, who also commemorated Schiller's school-days in the popular drama of the "Karlsschüler," and the deaths of Essex and of Struensee in the tragedies called after them, composed, about 1864, a series of excellent historical novels on the Thirty Years' War, and the times of General Wallenstein. This work, called collectively, "Der deutsche Krieg," gives a most masterly and tragic account of the darkest period of German history.

Felix Dahn, now Professor in Breslau, is the describer of the Great Migration. His most remarkable production is "Der Kampf um Rom," referring to the occupation of Italy by the Ostrogoths, and their subsequent destruction in the time of Narses and Belisarius in the fifth century. Several subsequent stories of the same author refer to the Vandals in Africa, to Attila, king of the Huns, to the reign of Charlemagne, and to the Crusades. All are well told, and, with the exception of a few invented characters, perfectly true to history.

The history of our own times is interestingly treated in the novels of **G. Samaroff**. The true name of this author is O. Meding; he was formerly secretary and privy-councillor to the deceased ex-king of Hanover, and has related the overthrow of this sovereign and his dynasty, by the battle of Langensalza, in his novel "Um Scepter und Krone."

Just of an opposite character are the novels of **G. Ebers**, Professor of the University of Leipzig. This learned antiquary has selected ancient Egypt, or the country of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, as the theme of his fictions. He had prepared himself for this task by a prolonged residence in the land of the Nile and the Pyramids, and on his return to Germany spread correct notions of the country he had visited, not only by editing a parchment

of hieroglyphics which he had deciphered, but by several interesting stories from Egyptian history. "Uarda," one of these, describes events which take place 1352 years before the Christian era; another, "Homo sum," published in 1878, relates the rise of monastic life on the shores of the Red Sea. Occasionally Ebers has turned to modern history as the subject of his fictions. "Die Frau des Bürgermeister" describes the siege of Leyden in 1573, but his recent novels, "Serapis" and "Die Nilbraut" return to his favourite theme.

Literary Women.—Several lady authors still remain for mention. Germany has produced no lady writer equal to either G. Eliot, or Madame de Stael, but the part played by female genius in her literature is largely on the increase, more especially in the department of novels. E. Marlitt, whose true name is Eugenia John, a Thuringian lady, who died in 1887, has composed about twenty novels, of which "Gold-Else," "Heideprinzesschen," and "Das Geheimniss einer alten Mamsell," are those best known. Fanny Lewald, or Frau Stahr, is the advocate of women's rights in Germany, and has written several novels, distinguished by a sober, moral tone, and broad political views: among these we will only mention "Clementine" and "Das Mädchen von Hela." Ottilie Wildermuth (died 1877), a Swabian lady, has left a good many pleasing stories, describing life in Würtemberg. Elise Polko, of Cologne and Minden, writes on the lives of the great musical composers of Germany, as on that of Mendelssohn. Louise Mühlbach (1814–1873), the wife of the Young-German Mundt, has left a prodigious number of historical novels, referring to the private life of Frederick the Great, Joseph II., Napoleon, and other sovereigns of recent or former times. Wilh. von Hillern, the daughter of Frau Birch-Pfeiffer, has inherited her mother's art of story-telling, as is shown by her novels, "Ein Arzt der

Seele" and "Die Geier-Wally." The latter describes the bravery, self-reliance, and occasional ferocity of a Tyrolese country-girl, whose life was cast amid the vulture-haunted rocks and snow-fields of the Oetzthal. The two most successful poetesses of contemporary Germany both live beyond her political boundary. The one is Elizabeth, Queen of Roumania, who writes under the pseudonym Carmen Sylva. She is sprung from a noble family on the Rhine, and has published a number of translations, original lyrics, and novels, such as "Astra," "Aus zwei Welten." The other is the Baroness Ebner-Eschenbach, of Vienna, an able dramatist and story-teller. Her "Erzählungen," and her novel "Bozena," are much admired compositions, and in 1860 she selected Mary Stuart Queen of the Scots for the subject of a tragedy.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION—PHILOSOPHERS AND HISTORIANS OF THIS AND PRECEDING PERIOD.

Philosophy.—As the literary fame of Germany is in a high degree due to her philosophical productions, a brief notice of these seems indispensable in an outline such as the present. The German school of philosophy has frequently attracted the notice of Englishmen, especially its earlier stage, up to Kant and Fichte. This is sufficiently attested by the labours of Coleridge, De Quincey, Carlyle, and in recent times by those of Lewes and Professor Mansel. Less favourable was the attention bestowed on its subsequent phases. The doctrines of the Hegelian school and its followers were but little appreciated in

England, and have met with more obloquy than praise from the few whom they seemed to interest. Not only the difficulties that were met with in comprehending their meaning, and the intricacy of style and thought, but also the novelty and the startling character of many of their views, deterred people from a fuller investigation of the post-Kantian movement. On the whole, it would be vain to deny that the German conception of the aim, as well as the method of philosophy, differs entirely from that adopted in England. Indeed, one might more appropriately compare the German school to the philosophers of ancient Greece than put them on a level with a Bacon or a Locke, a Hobbes, Stewart, or Mill. If in England ethical philosophy forms the chief point, in Germany it is metaphysics or ontology. Again, if English philosophy is empirical, that of Germany is, or certainly was, speculative. The former proceeds by generalizations of observation and experience, while the latter essays progression by guessing at ultimate truths. Hence, the two schools are at war from the outset. The German sages reproach the English with being too practical and utilitarian, and in general with remaining *below* the mark in their solutions of philosophic problems, while the English inquirers, with equal consistency, tax the German school with too daring, and therefore fruitless, attempts in their intuitions, and accuse them of *overshooting* the mark in their speculations. To essay theosophy, or to speak of real existence; to describe the soul of man, or to tell his destiny; to venture an opinion on the creation or the end of things, no matter if well or if ill, is held wisdom in Germany, and folly in England. The fear of failure is the bane of English philosophy, just as the hope of success flushes the pages of German speculators. This is especially true of the earlier stage of German philosophy, while in the writings of Herbert Spencer we can observe a closer resemblance to the German School.

The theosophic tendency of Teutonic philosophy was illustrated as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the illiterate **Jacob Böhme** (1575–1624), a mystical shoemaker of Görlitz, in Saxony. This meditative artisan composed a book, entitled “Aurora,” in which he thought he had afforded a new insight into the interior workings of nature, and had described better than divines had done the attributes of the Supreme Being. The poor cobbler was a devout reader of the Bible, and used to found part of his theorems on the page of inspiration. The most remarkable feature of his speculations is his putting Emanation in the place of Creation, and an evolutionary principle in lieu of the free personal agent of the Christian religion. There is no doubt that he was actuated by very good intentions, and delivered his doctrines in perfect good faith; he believed in Christianity as firmly as he believed in his speculations, and thought the one the true explanation of the other. But the pastor of Görlitz took offence at his teaching; he repeatedly admonished Böhme to abjure his heresies, and, above all, to write no more. When this had not the desired effect, he urged the burgomaster to interfere. To avert the wrath of Heaven, the mystical shoemaker was bidden to depart from his native town. Poor Böhme shook the dust off his feet at the gates of Görlitz, and retired to concealment in Dresden; but his retreat was still haunted by his former visions; and as friends were not wanting, not only to encourage him in his apparently pious labours, but to support him with funds and means for printing new books, he added to his former work another on “True Penitence,” and lastly, one on “True Composure of Mind.”

Learned philosophy commenced in Germany with **Leibnitz** (1646–1716), a Hanoverian, who is not less famous as a mathematician, and even as a divine, than he

is by his speculations. He disputed Newton's claims to priority in the invention of the calculus; he also exerted himself very strenuously for the reconciliation of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches; his philosophical treatises were written in Latin and in French; the principal is his "Théodicée." Two peculiar views are to be found among the theories of this book: the one is the author's theory on matter, or the atomic doctrine, according to which all things are compounds of monads or elemental atoms, which preserve union by a certain "pre-established harmony," or chemical disposition, which inheres in the atoms; the other is the optimistic doctrine, or the assumption that God did create this world in the most perfect state when things came into existence, or that, to speak with Pope, "Whatever is, is right." To reconcile this principle with the existence of moral and physical evil is the object of his "Théodicée." The principal disciple of Leibnitz was **C. Wolff** (1679-1754), a Professor of Halle, who first adopted German as the language of his manuals and lectures; he was a very systematic logician on the principles of Leibnitz, and has latterly been eulogized by Professor Mansel and other learned Oxonians, who have not hesitated to borrow some of his antiquated terms and canons, and adopt them in their own logical disquisitions.

Then came the immortal **Immanuel Kant** (1724-1804), the greatest philosopher of Germany, the son of a saddler, and a native as well as a professor of Königsberg, which town he never left. Kant's ancestors had been of Scottish descent, and this, according to his best commentator, Kuno Fischer, explains the affinity between his views and those of D. Hume and other British thinkers. The greatest production of this author is his "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," or Critique of Pure Reason, although the two other Critiques—the one on Art (for Urtheilskraft may be freely translated by *Æsthetics* or by *Art*), the



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(p. 244.)

other on Ethics (“*Praktische Vernunft*”), are also remarkable compositions. His logic was edited from his lectures by Jäsche in 1800. The style of Kant is clear and connected; and although in his metaphysical dissertations a certain amount of obscurity is almost inseparable from their subject, there is always enough good sense and sound information in his expositions to repay the trouble of any student who will give him his attention. The design of Kant’s philosophy was to criticize the limits of the human intellect. All previous philosophers pursued, according to him, too dogmatical a mode of speculating. They discussed, adopted, or rejected tenets, without stopping to inquire whether and how we can come to know anything at all. To determine this, that is, to say how we attain knowledge on any subject, is the task which Kant’s Critique sets for itself. The result he arrived at is, that man can only discover the appearances of things, and only so far is entitled to collect his ideas of nature as well as of God into a system. He in fact denied the possibility of a science of real being, and asserted that, in straining our intellect to discover the essence of the world or the soul or the Divinity, we trespass totally beyond the province of our intellectual faculties. Kant came to this conclusion by analyzing the business of the understanding. The work of the human mind, he said, is to arrange, to digest, or comprehend the mysterious rough materials suggested to us by the senses; our reason orders our sensations. But while arranging the impressions received, we employ all kinds of formal or leading principles, which have nothing to do with things themselves, but are entirely of our own invention. Such are time and space, two of Reason’s self-made rubrics, under which it chooses to comprise external objects, as locally and temporally distinct. They are necessary, universal, *a priori* principles in our mind, undervived from experience, and previous to all sen-

sible information. But, however indispensable and original they may be, it is man alone who introduces time and space into things, or rather into his perception of things; but there is no evidence that Nature herself has any time or space at all. Further, in our judgments we make use of four fundamental categories—quantity, quality, mode, and relation. These constitute, with time and space, the innate *a priori* scheme in the human mind; they are necessary and axiomatic points of view, imported by us into our register of observations. From all this Kant concluded that, as our knowledge is self-invented in such important elements, we cannot positively assert that it is “objectively true.” The world is a book with seven seals upon it: we read our own version, but not the true text. We know the semblance, but not the substance of Nature. For this reason human conclusions on the supernatural world cannot be binding. The philosophy of Kant is but a few steps removed from a complete disbelief in the veracity of our cognitions. The argument, however, on which his theory is founded differs from those of Pyrrho, Hume, Berkeley, or any other so-called Idealists. Kant’s argument is the alleged *a priori* nature of the intellect, or the assertion that the recognition of existing things proceeds from laws which lie in the thinking subject itself.

With the semi-sceptical view of metaphysics, Kant combined a severe rigorism in moral philosophy. He disliked meddling with divinity, and had all the less inducement to meddle with it as he was not a clergyman or a theologian, any more than the other German philosophers who preceded and followed him. This, however, did not prevent him from expressing his convictions on natural religion. He thought that a belief in a personal God, in free will, and in immortality, were the three essential points of any sober system of religion. These he pronounced practically useful and morally indispensable doctrines, although he

declined, in accordance with the theory already detailed, to assign any metaphysical reasons for believing in their accuracy.

Johann G. Fichte (1762–1814) rose after Kant, and deduced the last consequences of his master's system in eloquent and vigorous language. His principal work is the "*Wissenschafts-Lehre*," which exaggerates the semi-scepticism of Kant. The last-mentioned philosopher had not questioned the authenticity of the impressions made on our senses, although he had represented the understanding as their complete arbiter and controller. But Fichte went further in scepticism, and denied the certainty of our sensual perceptions. He said the only thing we could be sure of was the Ego, or the conscious self; and he declared the whole world beside ourselves, or the Non-Ego, to be no more than the result of the self-persuasions of the reflecting mind. Thus, the real existence of all other things but ourselves became to Fichte, just as to Bishop Berkeley, a doubtful question. Even our idea of the Deity should form no exception to this problematical character of our knowledge. Fichte explained our notion of a divinity as arising from the conviction we feel that there is a law of moral compensation in the world, and this law he believed to be personified in the idea of God.

The author of "*Wissenschafts-Lehre*" was professor at Jena, the old Saxon academy, which had taken the place which once Wittenberg, and more recently Göttingen, had held as the leading university of Germany. At Jena he published a philosophical journal, in which from time to time some anti-orthodox articles appeared, in language so unguarded as to give offence to the Weimar Court, or rather to the clerical party of the petty Saxon States. It appears that neither Herder nor Goethe, nor any other of the celebrities of Weimar, interposed in behalf of Fichte. Thus, the Grand Duke Karl August, the disciple of Wie-

land, and the friend of Goethe, thought fit to make Fichte a martyr to the animosity of the Lutheran Church. The philosopher was involved in a legal prosecution for irreligion, and threatened with expulsion from his university. Fichte defended himself from the charge of Atheism, and in rebutting it had public opinion entirely on his side. Though he showed that he was wronged, he threw up his professorship, and retired to Erlangen, and thence to Berlin, where a new university was soon after founded, which obscured all similar institutions in Germany. Fichte subsequently became one of the first professors of Berlin University. But before this event, he pleaded in several pamphlets for freedom of religious belief, and defended the right of philosophical inquiry. He openly denied that a German prince had any right to interfere with liberty of conscience among his subjects. When, in 1806, the outbreak of the war with France diverted the attention of the Prussians to more pressing questions, Fichte again stepped forward in a manly and patriotic attitude. His "Reden an die Deutsche Nation," or Addresses to the German Nation, roused his countrymen to united action, and encouraged them to a firm resistance against the foreign invaders. He was one of the foremost, as well as the boldest, to agitate against the ascendancy of Napoleon. But Fichte knew well that words are idle, and liable to contempt, when the hour of action arrives. Thus Germany witnessed a grand and moving spectacle, when, at the general rising of the population, in 1813, she beheld a feeble and careworn professor marching among the youth of the land, shouldering his musket, and silently performing his duties as a soldier of the army of liberation. This man was Fichte, who had left his home to give his life for his country. He saw his cause issue triumphant from the struggle, but died shortly after in 1814.

Meanwhile the philosophical scepticism of Fichte could

not long remain unanswered. To question the reality of the world is an idea so startling that the human mind naturally recoils from such a doctrine; and philosophy, with all its ingenuity, will never succeed in upholding for a time a theory so repugnant to common sense. The first who opposed Fichte was **Jacobi**; but soon **Schelling** (1775–1854), an old disciple of the former, proclaimed a new doctrine, which at all events secured the belief in the reality of the outer world. That Fichte had exaggerated the views of Kant seemed generally agreed upon; but how was he to be answered? To extricate philosophy from this dilemma, Schelling proposed the so-called Identity Doctrine. We will try briefly to explain what it was. In order to get over the antagonism of Understanding and Sensations, of Ego and Non-Ego, of the real world and the ideal, Schelling denied that there was any radical opposition between the one and the other. He asserted that Existence and Thinking are coincident in all their most important aspects. As things exist to us only so far as we can think of them, and as that which we never think of is as good as non-existent, at least for us, Being and Thinking are practically the same. The macrocosm of the world is mirrored by the microcosm of the soul—just as the landscape is reflected in the water, or as the scenes of life appear on the pupil of the eye. Whether there be other phases of Existence, or other parts of the world which we may know nothing about, can make no difference, because they do not affect our Understanding. Thus Schelling held that there was a complete philosophical “identity” between the world of matter and the world of our ideas; and he pronounced the self-revealings of the one parallel to the manifestations of the other. This singular theory was advocated in several of Schelling’s essays, especially in his “Method of Academic Studies,” the principal work of this philosopher in his

earlier years. On leaving Jena, where he had heard Fichte, he became a professor at Munich. Subsequently he was invited by King Frederick William IV. to come to Berlin. At that time Schelling had abjured his old inclination to Spinozism, or the deification of Nature, and he now endeavoured with increased zeal to reconcile his philosophy with Revelation. His "Disquisitions on Free Will" gave particular evidence of this desire. Unfortunately Germany proved singularly incredulous on the conversion of a philosopher who was so largely remunerated for the new insight he had got. Schelling became a mark for the satire of the Berliners, the butt of the attacks of the Hegelians, and the laughing-stock of the poets of Young-Germany. His frequent but always unfulfilled promises of a new philosophy which shortly should appear before the public, and surpass in depth anything yet heard of, merely contributed to damage his reputation; and long before he died he found himself universally decried as a mystic and a dotard.

Georg Hegel (1770-1831) was, like Schelling, a native of Swabia, and lived with him on intimate terms as long as they were both residing at Jena and near Fichte. Subsequently they each philosophized independently, and Hegel acquired the ambiguous reputation of being the most abstruse thinker whom Germany had seen. Some time after leaving Jena he had gone to Heidelberg, whence he was called to Berlin. This was more than twenty years before Schelling came. Hegel resided at Berlin, since 1818, under the reign of King Frederick William III., and during the ministry of the liberal Baron von Altenstein, a personal friend of Hegel. For the space of about twelve years, during which this philosopher taught in the Prussian capital, he exercised an almost incredible fascination over the learned public. His speculative ardour, his novel phraseology, his daring para-

doxes, and, above all, his great profundity, dazzled both young and old. Hegel flinched from no mystery, however hallowed; he stopped short before no difficulty, however arduous. The same man who in his old age demonstrated the dogma of the Trinity is said in his younger years to have proved seven to be necessarily the number of the planets, when but seven were known; but to have proved that there ought to be eleven planets when the four asteroids had been discovered. Perhaps, were he still alive, he would prove now that they must be some two hundred or more. Hegel passed, nevertheless, for a kind of oracle in his time. Divines, scholars, and statesmen crowded his lecture-room, and among his own colleagues he was regarded with a kind of awe by all but the jealous Schleiermacher. It was fortunate for Hegel's fame that he died before the spell had passed. In 1831 he was attacked by the cholera, and succumbed after a very short illness. His principal works are his "Phänomenologie" and his "Logik." But he has left works on the metaphysical principles of almost every scientific department—on Laws, Theology, History, Ethics, and Art.

It is not easy to give a succinct account of Hegel's philosophy. A tinge of Pantheism is perceptible in his doctrines, although Hegel himself denied every imputation of the kind; his theories he declared to be in accordance with Christianity, while his political doctrines certainly exhibit an anti-revolutionary and conservative turn. One of the most striking features of his system is his method. Hegel had formed the conviction that the universal process of all creation obeyed the laws of contrast and unison. Believing, like Schelling, in the correspondence of Being and Thinking, and therefore assimilating the method of Reasoning to the fundamental process of all Nature, he concluded that the perfection of philosophy consisted in tracing contrast and unison every-

where. He declared not only polar, chemical, and magnetic action liable to the supreme law of harmony caused by opposition, but he traced a similar flux and reflux of contrary tendencies in the phenomena of organized nature: he even subjected mental and moral action to the same law; for the same reason, he arranged his doctrines in a succession of antitheses, each being succeeded by its resolution. Contrast and Unison, or, as they are logically expressed, Negation and Identity, are the two pillars of Hegel's system of philosophy. By means of these two fundamental principles, Hegel methodically proceeds from the lowest point of Existence to the highest. He begins with pure Being, or the perfect Void, and rises up to God, in whom all Being centres, and all contrasts meet.

The design of Hegel's Logic is very peculiar. In accordance with the axiom started by Schelling, viz. the close junction of Existence and Thought, Logic was combined by Hegel with Ontology. This combination produced very singular consequences; for thus the science of the laws of thought was compelled to teach Cosmogony as well. In order to do so, Hegel had to imagine the human intellect as perfect, or as in possession of the secrets of Creation. His Logic attempted nothing less than, at one blow, to disclose the ultimate causes of creative Power, and the ultimate laws of the human Intellect, just as if the mind of man were equal to the Divine. Thus, in Hegel's sense, Logic became a science of the Absolute, or the Deity, delineating the innermost principles of both Matter and Mind. The palpable difficulties of such a plan did not deter him from trying it, although in the very way in which it was executed it often stumbled on paradoxes too strong not to afford a warning. Thus, for instance, the identification of modes of Thought with modes of Existence led Hegel to assert that life, the planetary system, and the world, were kinds of syllogism;

and, again, that notions, propositions, and syllogisms were material parts of nature !

Another point which may require elucidation is Hegel's relation to Divinity. As already observed, this philosopher had nothing of the judicious reserve which Kant had shown ; he was fond of meddling with speculative Theology, and stepped out of his province in order to render to orthodoxy some officious services, which soon after his death were denounced as mere snares and rank heresies. As if ours was the age of an Origen, or a St. Augustine, he offered philosophical explanations of the mysteries of Christianity. Thus he demonstrated the dogma of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and so on ; but by far the most disputed point was the nature of the Divine Essence itself. Hegel was not precise as to whether he thought the Absolute a personal Being or not ; his usual phraseology was to call the Absolute both " Substance and Subject," *i.e.* both a Thing and a conscious Agent. But, as differences of interpretation were inevitable on so vital a question, the extensive school of his adherents split into two portions shortly after his death. Some said Hegel meant by the Deity the God of the Christian religion—the *Schemer*, not the *Scheme*, of the Universe. Others, on the contrary, dispersonified the Divinity, and described their philosophical God as a dumb and unconscious Intelligence, which attained knowledge of itself only in the brains of thinking men. The former section of Hegelians assumed, therefore a divine Understanding apart from the human ; while the latter would acknowledge no difference between the two, and assigned to the heads of earth-born mortals the functions of the *sensorium Dei*. Among the orthodox philosophers of Hegel's School we may mention Professor Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg, Erdmann of Halle, and Rosenkranz of Königsberg. The chief coryphees of the Rationalistic section are the well-known

David Strauss, who started, in 1835, the mythical theory of sacred history, in his "Life of Jesus," and Feuerbach, the author of the "Essence of Christianity." It lies beyond the purposes of this Outline to enter at large into the controversies and history of German Divinity.

The merit of having critically dispersed many of the philosophical illusions of Hegel and his disciples belongs principally to Professor **A. Trendelenburg**, of Berlin (died in 1872). This philosopher became first known as a profound Aristotelian scholar; but his merits as an independent logician rest chiefly on his "Logische Untersuchungen," first published in 1840. Trendelenburg holds fast by the correspondence of Thought and Existence, and therefore still unites logic with ontology, but without endorsing the exaggerations of Hegel, or claiming an exact acquaintance with the nature of the Deity and the ultimate laws of the universe. He also pleads for final causes, or marks of design, especially in the organized part of nature, and generally makes it his object to consult and utilize the discoveries of modern science for the advantage and improvement of logical inquiry.

During the political commotions of 1848, a complete reaction arrested the progress of German speculation. The mind of the nation, so long taken up with Idealism under various forms, turned away from almost every form of philosophy, to face the practical questions of domestic and foreign politics. As a result of this Realistic tendency of the age, which is also apparent in the poetry and novels of the period, the old philosophies of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel fell into disrepute, and their upholders could with difficulty obtain a hearing. The only philosophical systems which were now in harmony with the prevailing tone of thought were Materialism and Pessimism. The principle of both is the same, namely, to disenchant the Mind of its self-esteem, and to put

before it the stern realities of existence. They are indeed rather a negation of philosophy in the ordinary sense of the word than themselves philosophical systems. Owing to the novelty of their doctrines, and their antagonism to established creeds, their upholders have rarely been represented among the University professors of Germany. The distinctive feature of the Materialist school is the denial of any supersensuous world. It consequently explains the phenomena commonly attributed to Mind as the results of material agencies. Thus J. Moleschott of Zürich and Turin referred thought to the presence of phosphorus in the brain, while Karl Vogt of Geneva would describe it as the effect of cerebral secretions. Free-will they either completely deny, or so limit its action that the moral responsibility of man is entirely removed. The origin of the world they ascribe to the chemical combination of indestructible atoms, which have since received the name of *protoplasms*. One of the most virulent expositors of Materialism in Germany was Ludwig Büchner, the author of "Kraft und Stoff" (1855), and now a physician in Darmstadt. The adherents of this school all favour Mutationist principles in physiology, and adopt the theory of man's descent from a lower order of animals. In this they received the support of the German Darwinists, a very numerous class of natural philosophers, who, in their anti-theological spirit, have left the English founder of the school far behind. The most prominent among this section of Materialists are Ernst Haeckel of Jena, author of the "Natural History of Creation" (1868), and Oscar Schmidt of Gratz.

Pessimism, or the Philosophy of Despair, differs from the preceding as well as from all other speculative systems by the strong element of feeling which pervades it. Although propounded in its scientific form for the first time as early as 1819, Pessimism remained completely unnoticed until

after 1850. The first to reduce it to its theoretic form was **Arthur Schopenhauer** (1788-1860), the son of a rich Danzig merchant, of Dutch extraction. On the death of his father (by suicide?) he went with his mother and sister to Weimar, where he passed the next ten years of his life, and knew Goethe. His failure to obtain a professorship at Berlin doomed him to inactivity for the remainder of his life. It also imparted a tinge of personal bitterness to his denunciations of the existing staff of University professors. The last thirty years of his life he spent in Frankfort, leading the life of a hermit and misogynist, accompanied only by a large dog. In the Hotel d'Angleterre of this town he might daily be met with, usually dressed like an English clergyman. He was fond of long walks, good dinners, and complete solitude. His greatest work bears the strange title "*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*," and appeared in 1819. The title, however, is the only obscurity in the book. Its style surpasses that of any other work of German philosophy by its perspicuity and beauty. "Will," in the sense of Schopenhauer, is another name for Force. Every plant and animal has its will, because its motion proceeds from itself. The manifestations of this will, vary however, in different orders of existing things. It acts instinctively in the lower animals. In man will is accompanied by thought, which Schopenhauer compares to a lantern suspended by Nature to illumine the actions of the force with which will is endowed. To the collective manifestations of will in the universe he gives the name of God. In its unceasing action and disregard for consequences this Force may be compared to the propeller of a steam-engine. By its agency the individual as well as all mankind may at any time be crushed to atoms. Schopenhauer especially controverts the belief in the reality of Pleasure, and asserts that Vice and Pain might much

more justly be called the law of nature than their opposites, Virtue and Joy. He has defined life in the celebrated words, "Es ist ein mattes Sehnen und Quälen, ein träumerisches Taumeln durch die vier Lebensalter hindurch zum Tode, unter Begleitung einer Reihe trivialer Gedanken." Very striking and gloomy is his theory of sexual love. Man, while he imagines that he is gratifying his own desires, is in reality the sport and tool of the forces of Nature. There is, consequently, much bitterness in his remarks on the female sex. The positive part of Schopenhauer's system of Ethics culminates in the injunction to seek absolute quiet and abstinence as the best means of counteracting the deluding designs of the supreme Will. This state of highest attainable happiness he called "Nirvâna," a term of Indian philosophy denoting the state of repose produced by the renunciation of all desires through asceticism and mortification. The root of virtue, he says, is Compassion, because it alone can alleviate the misery in which men are condemned to live.

The most distinguished living disciple of Schopenhauer is E. von Hartmann, the author of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" (1869). Pessimism, which in a poetical form existed in the writings of Lord Byron, before it became a philosophical system, has coloured the writings of Lenau, and Hamerling, and is occasionally visible in the poetry of Heine, Platen, J. Kerner, and Rückert.

About, 1886 a new and startling philosophy was propounded by **Friedr. Nietzsche**, a German of Polish extraction, born in 1844, near Naumburg, and educated at Leipzig and Bonn. Nietzsche was for eleven years Professor of Metaphysics at Basel; he resigned this post in 1879, and was in 1889 consigned to an asylum, where he has since resided. His theories start from Schopenhauer's belief in the degeneracy and growing decay of the human race, but he thinks that this downward

tendency might be arrested, and the regeneration of society effected, by the formation of a new aristocracy, and a return to the primitive state of existence. He condemns the luxurious habits, the city-life and comforts of our present civilisation, as sources of disease, and proposes to improve the human breed by artificial selection of healthy progenitors, who are to belong to a separate caste raised above the rest of mankind. He is a sworn foe of philanthropy and altruistic morality, because he thinks such a morality only patronises the weak at the expense of the strong; and must end in the production of average men of a low type. He recommends the return to a reign of physical force, and has defined the aim of his social philosophy in the phrase "Die Züchtung der blonden Bestie, oder Uebermenschen," *i.e.* the training of a ferocious race of fair-haired men of a superior type. On theology and metaphysics Nietzsche has propounded no new creed, but adheres to the opinions of Schopenhauer. His chief works are: "Also sprach Zarathustra"—an oriental tale, setting forth the views of the author in a number of aphorisms, attributed to a Persian hermit who quits his home to found a new and better society than that which he has left (1885). Another is "Das Jenseits von Gut und Böse," which may be translated as: Good and Evil regarded from a higher standpoint, or a sceptical view of the current Morality. His anti-philanthropic leanings are strongly displayed in one of his last works, which bears the title: "Götzen-Dämmerung oder wie man mit dem Hammer philosophirt." The hammer, which plays so prominent a part in Nietzsche's philosophy, is to serve for crushing all gentle feeling, and hardening the heart against the touch of softer impulses.

Among the disciples of Nietzsche we will only mention Leo Berg, an able essayist, and Ola Hanssen, his biographer.

Historiographers.—The historians of Germany are, on the whole, less remarkable for lively diction, graphic narrative, or elegance of style, than many who have written on the events of the past in either France or England. Nor were they, until very recently, distinguished by political experience, or by any high discrimination of measures and actions which were either conducive or prejudicial to public welfare. In searching the records of former ages, they were chiefly led by a desire for knowledge, or by the wish to supply information to others. The effect of this circumstance was, on the one hand, to deprive the pages of German historiographers of much of the keen interest which either beauty of style or political sagacity can impart to the page of history. But, on the other hand, it preserved their writings more pure from the influences of party spirit or national vanity. The historical literature of Germany is thoroughly imbued with the studious disposition of its composers. If it has excellences, they chiefly consist in fidelity, accuracy, and impartiality. One kind of historiography is especially of German growth, the style which Niebuhr invented, and which we may call the *investigative* or *critical*. It is only applicable to the doubtful or mythical periods of history, or to those which call rather for a rigid examination of the facts and authorities than for a plain and easy transcription of existing records. In addition to this kind, a sort of *philosophical* historiography has been successfully cultivated by Heeren, Schlosser, and Ranke, if we may thus designate their manner. It consists in a scrutinizing survey of the moral, literary, and religious features, as well as of the commercial industry, of the ages or peoples which these historians severally undertook to describe; and it proceeds on the rational supposition that an analysis of these is quite as instructive as an account of the political events of a period, inas-

much as they throw great light on the state and progress of civilization among the races which successively have inhabited the earth.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when A. Tschudi (1505-1572), and Etterlin (about 1507), had composed their chronicles on the history of Switzerland, no good historical work of any importance was published in Germany until about 1760. About that time a Hanoverian, **Justus Möser** (1720-1794), composed an excellent history of Osnabrück, a town not very distant from Münster or Minden. The author, who was patronized by George III., his prince, was a man of strong good sense, and gave evidence of his clear insight into some difficult problems of political economy in the treatise just mentioned, as well as in other essays which he left. About thirty years later, Herder wrote his *Ideas on the History of Mankind*, and Schiller composed his masterly works on the Dutch Rebellion and the Thirty Years' War. A Prussian officer of the name of **Archenholtz** also composed an account of the Seven Years' War, in which he had taken part under Frederick the Great.

The first German writer on Universal History, and one of the best historians in general, was **Johannes von Müller** (1752-1809). He was a Swiss, born in Schaffhausen, but spent the greater part of his life in Berlin, as well as in other German towns, where he was befriended by prelates and princes. This did not deter Müller from soliciting and obtaining the patronage of the French when they invaded Prussia in 1806. During the short-lived reign of Jerome, King of Westphalia, he accepted the post of cabinet minister at the court of Cassel, an act of desertion which was afterwards made the subject of the bitterest reproach against him. It seems that Müller, who was a very honourable man, and quite as patriotic as many of his revilers, despaired of the immediate restoration of

German independence, and perhaps he hoped in the important position which he held to mitigate the evil of a foreign dominion in the conquered provinces. There is good reason to assert that Müller prevented numerous measures which would have injured the welfare of those provinces, and promoted others, which were highly conducive to their prosperity. He died, however, before the total expulsion of the French. Two great works were left by him, a history of Switzerland, built on Tschudi, and a Universal History, the first extensive publication which contains a connected account of the Germanic Empire. Müller has been called a German Thucydides. He merits this appellation for the quiet impartiality and unbroken coldness for which that ancient historian has often been admired. He never allows his own opinions and feelings to interfere with his delineations, and some think that he carried this peculiarity to excess. As to his language, it is very good German, but has a rather periodic and oratorical complexion.

Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831) has acquired European fame as the historian of ancient Rome, and as the inventor of the investigative style of historiography. His work, first published in 1826, produced an immense impression on the commonwealth of letters, and overturned all the received notions of the earlier periods of Roman history. He showed that Livy, and those other authors from whom our notions on this subject are derived, had themselves been misled by ignorance and prejudice. Legends, family traditions, and opinions of later ages had greatly infected their information; and Niebuhr attempted to draw the line between the historical and the fictitious part. His object is not to leave everything uncertain, and make the reader distrustful and suspicious, but to remove old myths and trumpery stories for reasonable and well-supported theories of his own. He is constructive,

and from hints and chance confessions frequently detects truth under the disguise of absurd traditions and national vanity. It is only to be regretted that the shrewdness of investigation and historical acumen which this great man displayed should not have been accompanied with proportionate elegance of style. Germany owes to Niebuhr not only improved notions on early Roman history, but also a school of Natural Law, called "Die historische Juristenschule." His views were conservative, as might be expected of one who had long been the tutor of the then Crown Prince of Prussia. Hence he looked on the French Revolution as a most pernicious event, and accounted for the principal incidents in the history of mankind by supernatural guidance.

Heeren (1760-1842), a professor of Göttingen, has ably discussed ancient times, with especial reference to their institutions, commerce, religion, and progress in civilization. His principal book is "Ideen über Politik, Verkehr, und Handel der alten Welt."

F. Schlosser (1776-1861), late professor of Heidelberg, was a masterly writer on universal history. The chief merit of his "Welt-Geschichte" is, besides its good style and sound information, the excellent use to which he turns literature and the other relics of ancient and modern times in drawing the character of past ages and describing the genius of departed or existing nations.

Leopold Ranke (1795-1886) is in reputation and influence the first among the recent historians of Germany. He resided in Berlin, and has chiefly become famous by his "History of the Popes." This work embraces not only the biographies of the occupants of the Papal chair, but the history of the whole of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He writes universal history, and his *forte* consists in characterizing the age of the Reformation by means of a connected and comprehensive

view of all the contemporaneous events in politics, as well as in the history of art, science, and literature. The struggles and counter-efforts of Protestantism and Catholicism, being the real theme of the book, required a pen such as that of Ranke, since they fought with spiritual weapons quite as much as with diplomatic and military arms. His book contains also excellent delineations of individual characters, as, for example, that of Leo X., Paul III., and Sixtus V. His style is simple, unostentatious, and dispassionate. He dwells with special delight on the secrets of courts and cabinets, and is fond of unravelling the intricacies of diplomacy. He bestows little attention on popular movements. As he had access to Prussian and Austrian state papers and archives, he employed himself chiefly in turning these to account. His "Nine Books of Prussian Histories," his "History of Wallenstein," his "Origin of the Seven Years' War," and lastly, his "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte," give evidence of this document-sifting style of historiography.

The three principal historians of the Middle Ages are Leo, Raumer, and Giesebrecht. **Heinrich Leo** (1799–1878), formerly professor of history at the University of Halle, combined consummate ability and learning with many principles which have become obsolete in our century. He had such a profound admiration for the heroic and devotional spirit of the Middle Ages, that he disparaged all modern institutions, with their ideas of personal liberty. His fancy was filled with knights, guilds, corporations, and feudalism. He hated alike the wild licentiousness of anarchy and the sober liberty of a constitution. It cannot, however, be denied that he has happily seized the temper of those times, and thrown a charm and peculiar grandness around the chivalry of mediæval times. **F. Raumer** (1781–1872), a diplomatist in the Prussian service, held many places at foreign legations,

besides a professorship of history in Berlin. He has written an admirable history of the Hohenstaufen emperors—that glorious line of princes who ruled over Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The same subject is ably treated by W. Giesebrecht of Munich, in his able work on “Die deutsche Kaiserzeit” (1875).

Dahlmann (1785–1861) was a historian and political doctrinaire, who selected as his topic the Revolutions of France and England. He lectured at Bonn, and took a prominent part in the Frankfort Parliament of 1848; but the constitution, which he drew up with Gagern and others, long remained a mere paper sketch. It was not until the events of 1866 and 1870, and the consequent restoration of the Germanic Empire, that his labours met with their deserved recognition in being laid down as the basis of the present charter of Germany.

G. Gervinus (1805–1871) is the author of an elaborate and excellent work on the Literature of Germany, as well as of an Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century. His fame, however, in England rests chiefly on his labours in Shakesperean criticism. In this field he has gained an undisputed pre-eminence, which even the works of Delius, Ulrici, Kreyssig, and Bulthaupt have been unable to overthrow. He was an ardent Liberal and Reformer, and even his literary criticisms are often coloured by his political sentiments. At the outset of his career he was the martyr of his Liberalism, or rather of his sense of justice. The eccentric Duke of Cumberland, on his accession to the throne of Hanover, in 1838, arbitrarily annulled the constitution, and, on their refusal to take the oath required by the new laws, deprived him and six other Professors of Göttingen of their chairs. Gervinus’ conduct on this occasion called forth the warmest approbation from the entire German nation. During his subsequent residence in Heidelberg

he continued warmly to support the popular cause, both in his University lectures and as editor of the "Deutsche Zeitung," which he founded. After the storms of the year 1848, he allied himself with the small band of German patriots opposed to the policy of Prince Bismarck. His remarks on this statesman were at all times very bitter, and when in the historical essay above-mentioned he drew a parallel between him and the Duke de Polignac, the subverter of the French constitution in 1830, the Prussian Government thought itself bound to interfere. Gervinus was accused of high-treason, and twice acquitted, to the great joy of the Liberals of Germany.

One of the greatest living historians of Germany is certainly **Theodor Mommsen**, born in 1817. His history of ancient Rome (1854) has excited universal attention, both by the merits of its style, and by the originality of its views. It is a work of far greater warmth and energy than the frigid treatises of the school of Ranke. It combines the patient research of the archæologist with the impetuosity and shrewdness of the active politician. For the last thirty years Mommsen has taken a prominent part in public affairs, and was in 1850 deprived of his professorship at Leipzig for a too bold advocacy of the popular cause. He has been for several years a member of the Prussian Parliament, and repeatedly Rector of the University of Berlin. The earlier portions of his book are occupied with an examination of the ancient Roman religion. This subject, which had been passed over by nearly all his predecessors, supplied Mommsen with a groundwork for many valuable reflections upon the national peculiarities of the Latin race. His skill in discerning national traits had been both awakened and trained by his antiquarian studies. These he had pursued on the soil of Italy itself, where the inscriptions of ancient monuments and tombstones furnished him with

materials for tracing ancient civilization. In the latter half of his book Mommsen shows qualities of a totally different kind. He here gives the most vivid and lifelike pictures of Sulla, Marius, Pompey, Cicero, and above all of Julius Cæsar. On the latter he bestows the warmest eulogies, and defends his usurpation on the ground that the Republic had become impossible, and autocracy a necessity for Rome.

The history of Germany has been written by Heinrich Luden (died in 1847), Heinrich Rückert, S. Sugenheim, G. H. Pertz (Life of Minister v. Stein) in voluminous and erudite works. But the most sensational writer on this subject is **Wolfgang Menzel** (1798-1873). This fiery patriot made historical composition as well as literary criticism the instruments for bestowing unlimited abuse upon all Radicals, Frenchmen, Jews, and generally upon all who in any way happened to differ with him. In his "History of German Literature" (1828), he denounces Goethe as destitute of public spirit and moral principle. The author of "Faust," however, could afford to smile at Menzel's tirades. His attacks on the Young-German school, which began about 1833, were directed against those more susceptible of injury. At that time Menzel edited the "Stuttgart Literaturblatt," a journal more than thirty years under his control, and arrogantly constituted himself the Grand-Inquisitor and Censor of German literature. Dissent from established creed, and dissatisfaction with existing authority, were held up to public reprobation, and fines and imprisonment were often the result of his invectives. Since 1866 he supported the policy of Bismarck. His "History of the Germans," his "Last 40 Years," and his "Last 120 Years of Universal History," are all written in a simple and vigorous style, but disfigured by the same combative conservatism.

Two living historians have recently written on the history of France—Sybel and Hillebrandt. **Heinrich von Sybel**, formerly Professor of History at Bonn, is now superintendent of the Prussian state archives at Berlin. His work, “*Geschichte der Revolutionszeit, von 1789 bis 1795*,” published in 1873, is based on sources hitherto inaccessible to historians, such as diplomatic notes, dispatches, and Parisian or Dutch archives; hence he has been able to shed a new light on a number of events connected with the era of the Revolution; for instance on the division of Poland. He also describes the state of France before the great upheaval of her society, with much ability. With the feelings of the masses, and the impulses leading to popular movements, Sybel has but little sympathy. He belongs to the school of Ranke, and therefore treats history as an affair of diplomacy, worked out as a game of chess. The picturesque style of Macaulay, with his graphic sketches of personal character, and his vivid descriptions of remarkable scenes, he entirely refuses to imitate. A more popular historian is **Karl Hillebrandt**, the author of “*Geschichte Frankreichs, von 1830 bis 1870*,” an eloquent work, full of the most accurate biographic detail, and written with a thorough insight into the French character. A long residence in France had enabled Hillebrandt to collect his materials from personal observation of the French people, and not merely from dusty state-papers. He died at Florence in 1884.

F. Gregorovius, born in 1821, and since 1852 residing at Rome, has written a history of Rome during the Middle Ages, as well as historical essays on Lucrezia Borgia, Corsica, and various Italian towns.

On the subject of German antiquities, the most famous writers have been **Jacob Grimm** (1785–1863), and **Wilhelm Grimm** (1786–1859), whose works on Teutonic

mythology, and the History of the German Language, constitute the substance of all that is known on those subjects. Their labours were ably continued by two Berlin professors, K. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, joint editors of the "Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa." Scherer died suddenly in 1885, after composing an able History of German Literature.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.



FIRST PERIOD (350-1150).

THE MONASTIC AGE. OLD-HIGH-GERMAN PROSE AND POETRY.

350. ULFILAS—Moesogothic translation of the Bible.
750. Beowulf, an Anglo-Saxon Legend.
800. Hildebrandslied, a ballad describing a combat between a father and his son.
830. Muspilli, poem on the Day of Judgment.
830. Heliand, Low-German poem on the life of the Saviour.
881. Ludwigslied, song on the victory of Louis III. over the Normans.
890. Otfried, a Franconian monk, author of the "Krist."
930. Waltharilied, a ballad on the flight of Walther, preserved in the Latin version of Ekehard.
960-1022. Notker Labeo, a monk of St. Gall, translator of the Psalms.
1025-1085. Williram, a Franconian monk, translator of the Song of Solomon.
1120. Ava, a nun, writer of several religious poems.

SECOND PERIOD (1150-1534).

MIDDLE-HIGH-GERMAN POETRY OF THE MINNESÄNGER (A) AND THE MEISTERSÄNGER (B).

A. 1. *Versified Chronicles.*

1100. Hannolied, a poem on Bishop Hanno of Cologne.
1139. Rolandslied, song on Rowland the Brave, by Konrad.
1140. Alexanderlied, by Lamprecht.
1142. Kaiserchronik, a poem on the Emperors of Germany.
1185. Æneid, by H. von Veldeke, "the father of minstrelsy."

2. *Epic Poems on German Heroes, by unknown Minnesänger.*

1210. The Lay of the Nibelungen.
 1210. Gudrun, poem on the rescue of a Frisian maid.

3. *British Legends, by three principal Minnesänger.*

- 1160–1210. Hartmann von der Aue (Iwein; Erech; Der arme Heinrich).
 1210. Gottfried von Strasburg (Tristan and Isolde).
 1215. Wolfram von Eschenbach (Parcival; Titurel; Willehalm).
 1290. Lohengrin, a tale of the Schwanen-Ritter Lohengrin, son of Parcival; author not known.

4. *Lyrical Poetry of the Minnesänger.*

1207. Contest of the Minstrels on the castle of Wartburg.
 1165–1230. Walther von der Vogelweide, author of Leiche (chants) and Lieder. Other Lyrists are: — Kürenberger; Ulrich von Lichtenstein; Reinmar von Zweter; Dietmar von Aist; Konrad von Würzburg; Tannhäuser, etc.

5. *Didactic Poetry of the Minnesänger.*

1229. Freidank's Bescheidenheit, probably by Walther.
 1230. Der Pfaffe Amis, by Stricker, a satire on the clergy.
 1300. Der Renner, by Trimberg, allegorical poem on the wickedness of mankind.
 1330. Der Edelstein, a collection of fables, by Boner.
 1150–1500. Reineke Fuchs, fable of the Raynard—several versions—by Willem, in 1150; Heinrich der Gleissner, in 1170; and by Baumann, or else by Barkhausen of Lübeck, in 1498.

PERIOD OF THE MEISTERSÄNGER. 1300–1534.

B. 1. *Meistersänger.*

1300. Heinrich von Meissen, surnamed Frauenlob, of Mayence.
 1360. Heinrich der Teichner, and Peter Suchenwirt, both of Vienna.
 1420. Muscatblüt; Veit Weber.
 1450. Rosenblüt; Hans Folz.
 1460. Michael Beheim, a weaver's son, and soldier of Vienna.
 1494–1576. Hans Sachs, a shoemaker of Nürnberg, author of Possen, fables, allegories, Easter plays, etc.

2. *Chroniclers.*

1370. Fritsche Closener's Chronicle of Strasburg.
 1386. Halbsuter's poem on the battle of Sempach.
 1414. Jacob Twinger's Chronicle of Alsacia.
 1500. Emperor Maximilian I., author of "Theuerdank," a poem narrating his marriage with Mary of Burgundy; also of "Weisskönig," or the reign of his father, Frederick III.

3. *Satirists.*

- 1458–1521. Sebastian Brandt, of Strasburg, “*Narrenschiff.*”
 1483. Till Eulenspiegel, story of the tricks of a travelling artisan.

4. *Preachers and “Mystics.”*

1300. Master Eckhart, a Dominican friar.
 1320. Johann Tauler.
 1350. Heinrich Suso, a Dominican friar.
 1500. Geiler von Kaisersberg.

THIRD PERIOD (1534–1760).

THE LEARNED ERA.

- 1483–1546. Martin Luther—Translation of the Bible, Kirchenlieder, Sermons, Pamphlets.
 1488–1523. Ulrich von Hutten, Pamphleteer.
 1490–1556. Burkhard Waldis, Fabulist.
 1475–1537. Thomas Murner, Controversialist—*Ueber den grossen Lutherischen Narren.*
 1542–1609. G. Rollenhagen, Fabulist.
 1545–1589. Johann Fischart — *Das glückhafte Schiff*; *Flohatz*; German *Rabelais.*
 1592–1635. Friedrich Spee, author of *Trutznachtigall.*
 1601–1669. Moscherosch, Satirist.
 1605–1659. Simon Dach, Hymn writer.
 1607–1676. Paul Gerhard, Hymn writer.
 1609–1640. Paul Flemming, Hymn writer.
 1616–1664. Andreas Gryphius, Hymn writer.
 1669. “*Simplicissimus,*” a novel on the Thirty Years’ War, by Grimmelshausen.

Critical Writers.

- 1597–1639. Martin Opitz, founder of the first Silesian School; *Palmen-Orden.*
 1618–1669. Hoffmannswaldau, with Lohenstein, founder of the second Silesian School.
 1700–1766. Gottsched, founder of the Saxon School.
 1715–1769. Gellert, Fabulist, disciple of Gottsched; *Hagedorn*; *Gleim*; *Rabener*; *Haller.*
 1719–1783. Lichtwer, Fabulist; *Pfeffel*, Fabulist.
 1725–1783. Bodmer, founder of the Swiss School.

FOURTH PERIOD (1760–1805).

THE CLASSICAL ERA.

- 1729–1781. G. E. Lessing — *Der junge Gelehrte*, *Miss Sarah Sampson*, *Minna von Barnhelm*; *Literaturbriefe*, *Laocoon*, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*; *Fragmente von Wolfenbüttel*, *Antigötte*, *Erziehung des Menschen-Geschlechts*; *Emilia Galotti*, *Nathan*.
- 1724–1803. Klopstock — “*Messias*,” *Odes*, *Dramas*.
- 1744–1803. Herder — *Kritische Wälder*; *Cid*; *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*; *Ideas towards the History of Mankind*.
1772. Foundation of the Göttingen Dichterbund — *Claudius*, the two *Stolbergs*, *Hölty*, *Leisewitz*, etc.
- 1747–1794. Bürger — *Ballads*; *Baron Münchhausen*, partly by *Raspe*.
- 1757–1826. Voss — *Louise*, a pastoral; translation of *Homer*.
1776. *Sturm und Drang* — a drama by *Klinger*, gives rise to the party-name for the school of *Herder*, *Goethe*, *Schubart*, *Lenz*, etc.
- 1783–1813. Wieland — *Agathon*, *Musarion*, *Abderites*, *Aristippus* — novels; *Oberon*, a romance.
- 1763–1825. Richter, or *Jean Paul* — *Life of Wuz*, *Qu. Fixlein*, *Siebenkäs*, *Titan*, *Flegeljahre* — humorous novels.
- 1759–1805. F. Schiller — *Robbers*, *Fiesco*, *Kabale*, *Don Carlos*, *Revolt of the Dutch*, *Thirty Years' War*, *Ballads*, *Lyrics*, *Wallenstein*, *Mary Stuart*, *Maid of Orleans*, *Bride of Messina*, *W. Tell*.
- 1750–1814. Iffland, writer of comedies.
- 1761–1819. Kotzebue, writer of comedies.
- 1749–1832. J. W. Goethe — *Götz*, *Werther*, *Clavigo*, *Stella*, *Iphigenia*, *Faust*, *Egmont*, *Tasso*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Reineke*, *Elective Affinities*, *Divan*, *Lyrics* and *Ballads*, *Wahrheit und Dichtung*.

FIFTH PERIOD (SINCE 1805).

RECENT WRITERS.

1. *Romantics*.

- 1767–1845. A. Wilhelm Schlegel — *Lectures on Dramatic Art*, *Ion*, translations of *Calderon* and of *Shakespeare*.
- 1772–1829. Frederick Schlegel — *Philosophy of History*, *Lucinda*, *Language and Wisdom of the Indians*.

- 1772-1801. Hardenberg, or Novalis—Hymn on Night, Travels of Ofterdingen.
- 1773-1853. Ludwig Tieck — Tales and Legends, Phantasia; novels; novelettes. Dramas: Genofeva, Kaiser Octavianus, der gestiefelte Kater, Zerbino, Blaubart.
- Other writers of tales: Count Arnim, Brentano, Musaeus, Fouqué, Chamisso, Am. Hoffmann.
- 1776-1811. Heinr. v. Kleist—Life of the highwayman Kohlhaas. Dramas: Käthchen von Heilbronn, Hermanns-Schlacht, Prinz von Homburg; Broken Pitcher, comedy.
- Fate-dramas: "Der vier-und-zwanzigste Februar," by Zach. Werner; Die Ahnfrau, by Grillparzer; Die Schuld, by Müllner; Der Leuchtthurm, by Houwald.

2. Ultra-Conservatives.

- 1783-1817. Max Schenckendorf—Christian Poems, Lyrics.
- 1823-1890. Oscar Redwitz—Dramas, Amaranth, Novels.
- 1772-1842. Bishop Pyrker—Tunisiás, Rudolfias, two epics.
Countess Hahn-Hahn; Baroness Droste-Hülshoff.

3. Patriotic and Liberal Poets.

- 1791-1813. Theodor Körner—Lyre and Sword, warsongs; Zriny, Rosamund, tragedies.
- 1769-1860. Arndt—Patriotic songs.
- 1787-1862. Ludwig Uhland—Ballads, Popular songs, Dramas.
- 1786-1862. Justinus Kerner—Lyrics; Die Seherin von Prevorst, story of a spiritualist.
- 1802-1827. Wilh. Hauff — Lichtenstein, a novel; Märchen; Popular Songs; Phantasieen im Rathskeller von Bremen.
- 1789-1866. Fr. Rückert—Geharnischte Sonette, Oriental poetry, Lyrics.
- 1796-1835. Count Platen—Comedies, Lyrics.

4. Advanced Liberals.

- 1817-1875. G. Herwegh—Gedichte eines Lebendigen.
- 1810-1876. F. Freiligrath—Lyrics, The Trumpet of Gravelotte.
- 1798-1874. Hoffmann von Fallersleben—Patriotic songs.
Kinkel, Mundt, Wienbarg, and Prutz—political writers and poets.
- 1799-1856. H. Heine—Buch der Lieder, Almansor, Reisebilder, Neuer Frühling, Ueber Deutschland, Romantische Schule, Atta Troll, Wintermärchen, Gegen Börne, Romancero, Geständnisse.

- 1811-1878. K. Gutzkow—Maha Guru, Wally die Zweiflerin—novels; Nero, Rich. Savage, Patkul, Wullenweber, Das Urbild des Tartuffe, Zopf und Schwert, Uriel Acosta—dramas; Die Ritter vom Geiste, Der Zauberer von Rom, Die Söhne Pestalozzi's—novels.

5. *The Austrian School.*

- 1790-1862. Zedlitz—Sepulchral Wreaths, Forest-Maiden—poems.
 1802-1850. Lenau—Polenlieder; Epics on Faust and Savonarola.
 1806-1876. Anastasius Grün—Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten, Schutt, Der letzte Ritter—poems.
 1791-1872. Grillparzer, dramatist—Die Ahnfrau, a fate-tragedy on a castle haunted by a ghost; Hero, Medea, Sappho, Ottocar.
 1806-1871. Fr. Halm, dramatist—Griseldis, Sohn der Wildniss, Fechter von Ravenna.
 1813-1863. F. Hebbel, dramatist—Die Niebelungen, Genofeva, Judith, Gyges and his Ring.
 1832-1889. R. Hamerling—Sinnen und Minnen, Ahasver in Rom, Der König von Zion, Aspasia, Lucifer, Homunculus.

6. *Recent and Contemporary Poets.*

- 1815-1884. E. Geibel, founder of the Munich School—Frühlingslieder, Juniuslieder, Heroldsrufe, Spätherbstlieder.
 1826-1886. V. Scheffel—Der Trompeter von Säckingen—an epic; Ekehard—historical novel; Gaudeamus—humorous lyrics; Frau Aventure; Berg-Psalmen.
 1830- . . . P. Heyse—Writer of novelettes: Rabbiate, Thecla, Die Blinden; Die Kinder der Welt—a novel.
 1819-1892. F. Bodenstedt—Lieder des Mirza Schaffy—translations. Lingg, poem on the Migration. A. Schack. F. Dahn.
 1819- . . . W. Jordan—Demiurgos, Andachten—philosophical poems; Siegfrieds-Sage, Hildebrant's Heimkehr—epics.
 1834- . . . J. Wolf—Tyll Eulenspiegel, Wilde Jäger, Rattenfänger von Hameln, Lurlei, Tannhäuser—romantic epics. Mosenthal, Bauernfeld, Benedix, Moser, Holtei—dramatists.
 1845- . . . E. v. Wildenbruch—Die Karolinger, Quitzows, Henry IV. and his Son—historical dramas.

7. *Recent Novelists.*

A. VILLAGE NOVEL-WRITERS.

- 1746-1827. H. Pestalozzi—Lienhard und Gertrud.
 1797-1854. Jer. Gotthelf—Uli der Knecht.

- 1796-1840. K. Immermann—Münchhausen—a satire on the Westphalian nobility, combined with a village novel.
 1812-1883. B. Auerbach—Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten: Die Frau Professorin, Auf der Höhe, Waldfried.

B. REALISTS AND SOCIAL NOVEL-WRITERS.

- 1810-1874. Fritz Reuter—Läuschen an Rhymels; Ut mine Stromtid—a Low-German account of the life of a land-steward; Ut mine Festungstid.
 1816-1895. G. Freytag—Soll und Haben; Die verlorne Handschrift; Die Ahnen; Pictures from the past of Germany; Die Journalisten—a drama; Erinnerungen.
 1829- F. Spielhagen—Problematische Naturen, Hammer und Ambos, Sturmflut.
 1816-1877. Hackländer—Life of soldiers and merchants.
 G. Keller—Grüne Heinrich, Leute von Seldwyla.
 Paul Lindau—Spitzen; Zug nach dem Westen; Comedies.
 1860- H. Sudermann—Frau Sorge, Katzensteg. Dramas: Ehre, Heimat.
 1862- G. Hauptmann—Dramas: Die Weber, Vor Sonnenaufgang.

C. HISTORICAL NOVELISTS.

- 1798-1872. Wil. Alexis—Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht, and Isegrim—two novels describing Prussia before and after 1806.
 1806-1882. II. Laube—Der deutsche Krieg—a novel referring to General Wallenstein; Die Karlsschüler—a drama.
 . G. Samarow—Um Scepter und Krone—novel on the fall of the Welffs in Hanover.
 G. Ebers—Uarda, Homo Sum, Serapis, Nilbraut—novels from the history of ancient Egypt.
 F. Dahn—Der Kampf um Rom, Felicitas—novels describing the times of the Great Migration.

D. LITERARY WOMEN—MOSTLY NOVELISTS.

- 1814-1874. Louise Mühlbach—Frederick the Great and his times, Joseph II. and his court.
 E. Marlitt—Gold-Else, Heideprinzesschen, Geheimniss, etc.
 Fanny Lewald—Clementine, Mädchen von Hela.
 Ottilie Wildermuth—Swabian stories.
 Wilhelmine v. Hillern; Elise Glück; Carmen Sylva (Queen of Roumania).
 Ebner-Eschenbach—Erzählungen, Bozena.

8. *Philosophers.*

- 1575-1624. Jacob Böhme—Aurora, *Mysterium Magnum*.
 1646-1716. Leibnitz—*Théodicée*.
 1724-1804. Immanuel Kant—*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*; *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, der Urtheilskraft*.
 1762-1814. Fichte—*Wissenschaftslehre*.
 1775-1854. Schelling—*Method of Academic Study*.
 1770-1831. Hegel—*Phänomenologie, Logik*.
 1806-1872. Trendelenburg—*Logische Untersuchungen*.
 1788-1860. A. Schopenhauer—*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*.
 1842- E. v. Hartmann—*Die Philosophie des Unbewussten*.
 1844- F. Nietzsche—*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*; *Götzen-Dämmerung*.

9. *Historians.*

- 1505-1572. Tschudi—*Chronicle of the History of Switzerland*.
 1720-1794. Justus Möser—*History of Osnabrück*.
 1752-1809. Johannes von Müller—*Weltgeschichte, Schweizer Geschichte*.
 1781-1872. Raumer—*History of the Hohenstaufen Emperors*.
 1795-1886. Ranke—*History of the Popes, of Prussia, Wallenstein*.
 1776-1831. B. G. Niebuhr—*History of Rome*.
 1776-1861. Schlosser—*Universal History*.
 1760-1842. Heeren—*Ideas on Politics, Commerce, etc., of the ancient world*.
 1785-1861. Dahlmann—*History of the French Revolution, and History of the English Revolution*.
 1805-1871. Gervinus — *History of the Nineteenth Century, History of German Literature, Shakespeare*.
 Other Shakespeare scholars: Ulrici, Delius.
 1817- Mommsen—*History of Rome*.
 1817- H. v. Sybel—*History of the First French Revolution, 1789-1795*.
 1830-1884. K. Hillebrandt—*History of France from 1830 to 1870*.
 1821- A. Gregorovius—*History of Rome during the Middle Ages*.
 Jacob Grimm, Wilh. Grimm, W. Scherer, K. Müllenhoff—*Writers on German Antiquities and early Teutonic Literature*.

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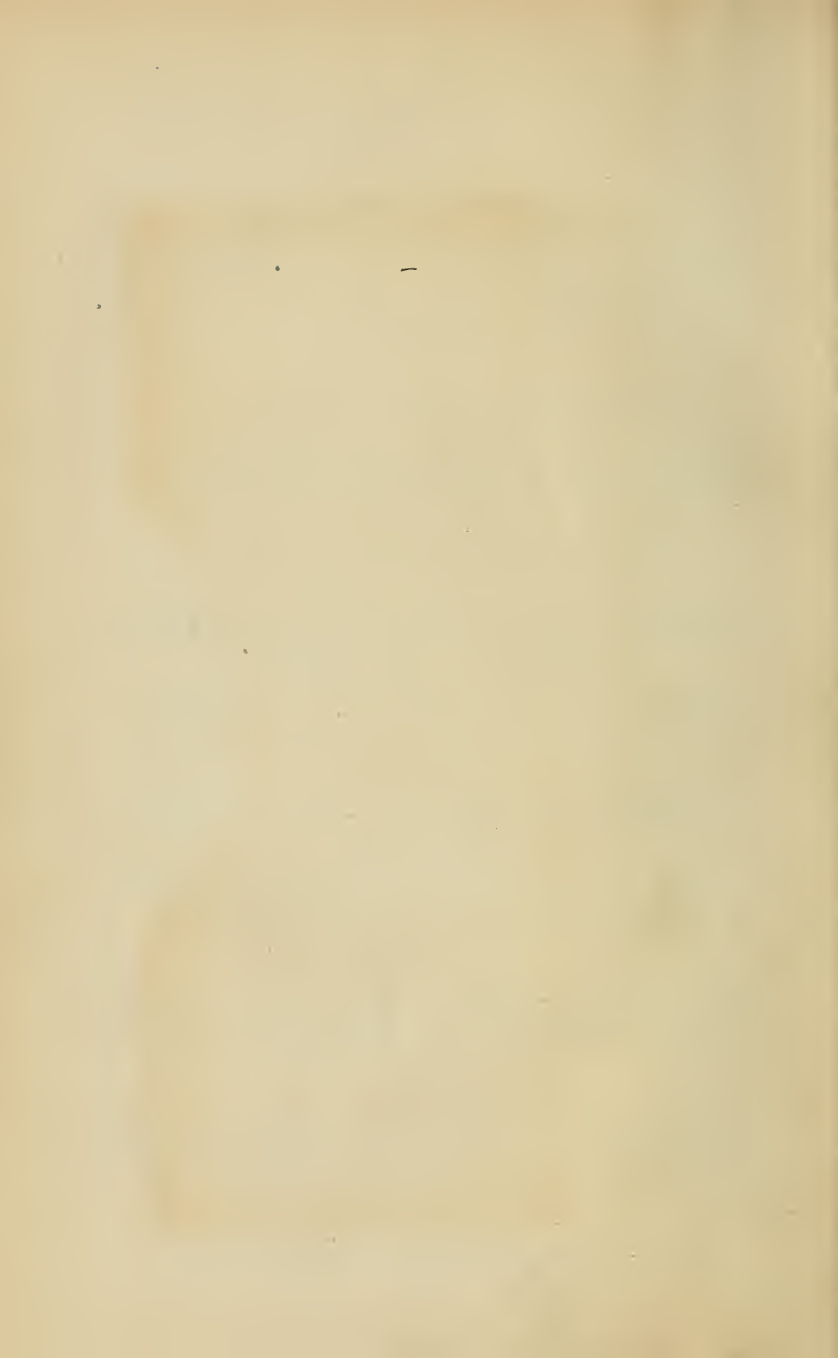
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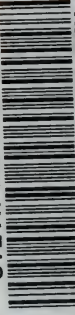
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